

**CYPRO - AEGEAN RELATIONS  
IN THE EARLY IRON AGE**

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PREFACE

The preface is the chapter where the author expresses his true feelings towards those who assisted him during the course of his work. It is a "labour of love" as Mr. Vincent Desborough very aptly characterised it.

First, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. A.M. Snodgrass and Dr. T.F. Watkins for their effort to impart the critical spirit and the method of scientific work. Dr. Snodgrass not only did that but examined and discussed with me all the problems arising during the writing of this thesis and guided me from going astray. In times of depression he was there to encourage, to lift up the spirits. This thesis would not have been written without his constant, careful supervision. This, of course, does not mean in any way that he is responsible for any probable errors in it, for which I accept full responsibility.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Desborough for his encouragement when, as a fresher in this country, I visited him in Oxford. For discussion on some topics I express my gratefulness to Mr. Coldstream and Mrs. Angeliki Pierides of the Cyprus Museum; Professor M. Popham kindly gave me information about the Cypriot material at Lefkandi. Dr. Karageorghis and Mr. K. Nicolaou, both helped me to study in the Cyprus Museum. Many photographs from there, illustrated in my thesis, were acquired through the courtesy of Dr. Karageorghis and some more were kindly sent to me by Mr. Scott of the Museum and Art Gallery of Glasgow, Mrs. Sakellarakis of the American

Excavations in the Agora and Professor F. Maier. To all of them I am deeply thankful.

I also have reason to thank Dr. K. Hatzioannou, Mr. T. Christofides, Mr. D. Blackwell and Mrs. D. Tsikkini of Famagusta, Mr. K. Georgiou (ex Senior Museum Assistant) and Mrs. L. Ieromonachou of Nicosia and also Miss A. Mauradaki of Chanea, Crete.

It would be an omission not to refer to Dr. Coulton, lecturer in Classical Archaeology of the University of Edinburgh, who made me feel at home during my first weeks and months in this country. His acquaintance acted positively on the writing of this thesis.

Last, but not least, I thank my family for being very patient with me in this pursuit of higher knowledge.

In this thesis, there are certain inconsistencies which I would like to make clear here. When referring to the SCE classification of the pottery, sometimes the word "type" and sometimes the word "class" is used. The initial letter "p" for pages was not used unless there was fear of confusion with other numbers. When using the abbreviations P.Wh.P. and Wh.P. sometimes the dots were omitted. The Greek titles are transliterated, not translated.

The LMIIIB2 period is mentioned as LMIIIC where the scholars mentioned in a discussion have adopted the latter form. The Cretan EPG period was regarded as commencing C.925 B.C. but after Coldstream's article in BSA, 67 (1972), p. 65, there is little doubt that for North-Central Crete Brock's 970 for the end of sub-

Minoan and the rise of EPG is right. As I was unable to make use of Coldstream's article, I briefly state here that it positively affects my results because it raises some of the late 10th century dates and strengthens the scanty connexions of Crete and Cyprus in mid-10th century.

Finally, when comparing material from the Aegean and Cyprus, we have tried to put forward the most characteristic pieces of the various forms and not the whole lot. This explains the many omissions of certain objects which, however, do not add to the evidence for connexions between the Aegean and Cyprus.



ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger.
AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology.
Abb.	Abbildung.
Acta Arch.	Acta Archaeologica, Copenhagen.
AE	Archaeologike Ephimeris.
Agora	The Athenian Agora; results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology.
Alasia I	Mission Archaeologique d' Alasia Tome IV.
AM	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.
Amiran	Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land.
Ann.	Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene.
Ant.K.	Antike Kunst.
AR	Archaeological Reports.
Arch. Homerica	Archaeologia Homerica.
AS	Anatolian Studies.
Asine	Asine: Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922-1930. By O. Frödin and A.W. Persson.
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique.
Beil.	Beilage.
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London.
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly.
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens.



CA	Cypro-Archaic.
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History. Revised edition.
CBMW	Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World. By H. Catling.
cent.	century.
CG	Cypro-Geometric.
CGA	La Céramique Géométrique de l'Argolide. By P. Courbin.
ch.	chapter.
Chronology	The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery. By A. Furumark.
CR	Clara Rhodos
Cretan Collection	The Cretan Collection in Oxford: The Dictaeon Cave and Iron Age Crete. By J. Boardman.
CVA	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.
Cyprus	The ancient civilization of Cyprus By Vassos Karageorghis.
Cyp. Mus.	Cyprus Museum.
Dark Age	The Dark Age of Greece. By A.M. Snodgrass.
Dark Ages	The Greek Dark Ages. By V.R. d' A. Desborough.
Delt. Chr.	Archaeologikon Deltion, part B, Chronika.
Delt. Mel.	Archaeologikon Deltion. From 1960, part A, Meletai.
diam.	diameter.
EC	Early Cypriot.
ECyc.	Early Cycladic.
EG	Early Geometric.
EGA	Early Greek Armour and Weapons. By A.M. Snodgrass.

EH	Early Helladic.
EM	Early Minoan.
EO	Early Orientalizing.
EPA	Early Protoattic.
EPC	Early Protocorinthian.
EPG	Early Protogeometric.
Ergon	To Ergon tis Archaeologikes Eterias.
Exochi	Exochi, ein frührhodisches Graberfeld. by K.F. Johansen in Acta Archaeologica Copenhagen, 28(1958).
Fas.	Fasicle.
Fortetsa	Fortetsa: Early Greek Tombs near Knossos. By J.K. Brock.
GGA	Greek Geometric Art. By B. Schweitzer.
GGP	Greek Geometric Pottery. By J.N. Coldstream.
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.
Hama	Hama, les cimetieres à cremation. By P.J. Riis.
Hesp.	Hesperia.
HM	Homer and the Monuments. By H.L. Lorimer.
ILN	Illustrated London News.
Initial Date	The Initial Date of the Cypriot Iron Age, in Op. Arch. III 1944. By E. Gjerstad.
IdI	Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Ker.	Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen. Vol.I by W. Kraiker and K. Kübler; vol.IV, vol.V, part 1 and vol.VI parts 1, 2 by K. Kübler.

Kraiker, Aegina	W. Kraiker, Aegina: Die Vasen des 10. bis 7. Jahrhunderts.
Kret. Chr.	Kretika Chronika.
KS	Kypriakai Spoudai.
Ktima.	La Necropole de Ktima. By J. Deshayes.
LAAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Liverpool.
LC	Late Cypriot.
LCyc.	Late Cycladic.
LG	Late Geometric.
LH	Late Helladic.
LM	Late Minoan.
LMS	The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors. By V.R. d' A. Desborough.
LO	Late Orientalizing.
LPG	Late Protogeometric.
MA	Monumenti Antichi pubblicati a cura... dei Lincei
MG	Middle Geometric. For Crete read Mature Geometric.
MP	The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classifi- cation. By A. Furumark.
MPC	Middle Protocorinthian.
MPG	Middle Protogeometric.
Myc.	Mycenaean.
Nouveaux Documents	Nouveaux Documents pour l'étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre. By V. Karageorghis.
NS	Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I-II. By V. Karageorghis.
Op. Arch.	Opuscula Archaeologica.

Op. Ath.	Opuscula Atheniensia.
PAE	Praktika tis Archaeologikes Eterias.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
PG	Protogeometric.
PGB'	Protogeometric B'.
PGP	Protogeometric Pottery. By V.R. d' A. Desborough.
The Phenicians of Talyssos	See BICS 16 (1969), 1ff. By J.N. Goldstream.
PM	The Palace of Minos at Knossos. By Sir Arthur Evans.
PPS	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.
Problems	Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. By E. Sjöqvist.
PWhP	Proto-White-Painted.
RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus
Salamine II	Salamine de Chypre II, La Tombe T.I. By Marguerite Yon.
Salamis	Salamis in Cyprus; Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman. By V. Karageorghis.
SCE	Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
Scheseis	Ai Scheseis metaxi Kyprou kai Kritis kata ton 11on Aiona B.C. Paper read in the B' Diethnes Kretologikon Synedrion, Athens, 1967. By V. Karageorghis.
SS	SubMycenaean Studies. By C.G. Styrenius.
Studies	Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus. By E. Gjerstad.
Suppl.	Supplementary.
taf.	tafel.
Totenkulk	Arch. Homerica W. By M. Andronikos.

Vrokastro

Excavations in Eastern Crete; Vrokastro.

By E.H. Hall.

Wh.P.

White Painted.



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## INTRODUCTION

Since Gjerstad has published his exemplary work on the Cypriot Iron Age in 1948, where a big section was devoted to the connexions of Cyprus and the West, a great deal of new material has come to light which made a fresh study of these connexions a necessity. Here we shall not treat the connexions of Cyprus and the West but Cyprus and the Aegean area in particular and try to see what bonds kept the two places in touch in the early Iron Age.

The exact period covered in this thesis extends from 1050 to 700 B.C., but with extensions on both sides, especially towards the upper limit.

The connexions of the period are based wholly on archaeological material and we only have two paragraphs in the last chapter on the historical conclusions referring to legends, not to support our arguments but in order to see if the legends really have any historical background or connexion with the material evidence.

The thesis is divided into two main parts; one deals with pottery and related subjects, the other with metal objects. A great difficulty which we encountered was the comparison of the various vases and artefacts in the early stages of the Iron Age, as nearly all the types both in Cyprus and the Aegean have common ancestry in LHIII B-C forms. The difficulty is obvious; when did

the Cypriot style diverge enough for us to decide if it exerted any influence on the Aegean and vice versa? Were the resemblances due to common ancestry or to inter-communications? By no means an easy question to answer.

Another difficulty is the presence of various objects which look similar enough so as to support contemporaneity or continuation but are separated by a great interval of time, so that we have either to regard them as a continuation from the same source but with the links missing for the moment, or to reckon the shape re-introduced from another source. When, however, do we have the first case and when the second? Another difficult question indeed to answer, although in the discussion of the objects we have tried to find where the truth lay.

The above difficulties show clearly that, in the future, some of the results in this thesis may be proved to be erroneous, but nevertheless it is my hope that many more will be shown to be correct.

# I 1. CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE CG PERIOD

Every scholar who deals with the Geometric period of Cyprus, will be confronted, sooner or later, with the difficult problem of the absolute chronology. This does not mean, of course, that the present system of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition<sup>1</sup> is worthless; far from that! The source of trouble is the dating of the Palestinian sites, where Cypriot pottery was found in abundance and obviously, nearly all the equations for the absolute chronology of Cyprus were made.

In any case, the scope of this paper is not to change either the established chronology of the period in question with some new equations on Palestinian sites nor to deal with connexions of Cyprus and the Levant. Our purpose will be the contact of Cyprus with the Aegean world and probable changes of Gjerstad's chronology through equations of Greek sites, in the light of new discoveries. At the same time we shall be able to see if there are any divergencies or agreements with the chronology proposed by Mrs Birmingham<sup>2</sup> and how far Gjerstad's system is valid today.

The Geometric period of Cyprus was divided by the SCE into three phases and these were again subdivided as follows:

CGIA	1050 - 1000
CGIB	1000 - 950
CGIIA	950 - 900
CGIIB	900 - 850
CGIIIA	850 - 775
CGIIIB	775 - 700

The Roman numbers I, II, III and IV which stands for the Archaic period dated 700 - 600, are comprehensive for the pottery series irrespective of the category that each type is discernible, i.e. White Painted I, Bichrome I, etc. are all called type I. The Greek letters have only chronological significance, indicating the subdivisions of the chronological periods. In the CGIII period we have the emergence of new pottery types which are again marked with the Latin number I but in brackets there is number III. Thus I(III) means pottery dated in CGIII<sup>3</sup>, I(IV) means pottery dated in CAI<sup>4</sup>.

The initial date of the Cypriot Iron Age was fixed by Gjerstad<sup>5</sup> in 1050 B.C. Dispute about it existed<sup>6</sup> but today there is not much controversy. More or less his proposed dating is generally accepted<sup>7</sup>.

Pottery of CGI type was not found in the Aegean and we do not have Aegean specimens in Cypriot contexts. Some influences, of course, are discernible but apart from these, nothing more. The whole period is blank as far as pottery of the early Iron Age is concerned.

For the CGII period we are just a little luckier. We have a high-footed skyphos and a cup from Amathus belonging to the late Protogeometric Attic sphere of influence<sup>8</sup>. Perhaps they are Cycladic. At any rate the Attic late Protogeometric is dated 950 - 900 B.C.<sup>9</sup>; a date, thus, round 920 for their manufacture is the most probable. If we make an allowance of approximately a generation to reach Cyprus and be deposited<sup>10</sup>



with pottery of late type II, or early type III, we reach a date for the end of the former type of pottery at the beginning of the ninth century. This date does not correspond exactly with the CGIIB, but it is not much outside the limits of the chronology of the SCE. We may tentatively date the end of CGII and the beginning of CGIII at about 875 B.C.

Here, we must refer to the "Grey and Black Polished Ware" classified by the SCE as I(III). This type has now been shown by Mrs. Nicolaou, curator of the Cyprus Museum, to emerge in the CGII<sup>11</sup> period. Two specimens<sup>12</sup> of the above ware, have been found among pottery of types I - II exclusively, therefore, we are fully justified in pushing backwards its first appearance. Unfortunately we are unable to say precisely how far in <sup>-t</sup>CGII<sub>1</sub> it goes, as there was also pottery of type I in the tomb, and no accurate discrimination could be made. So, we must be satisfied with the synchronism <sup>with</sup> of type II. Most possibly it belongs to CGIIB, but this is simply an arbitrary proposal without strong support apart from being the continuation of CGIII. Its span of fifty years is a quite reasonable time to circumscribe ~~(in there)~~ the beginning of "Grey and Black Polished Ware" now that we ought to push it backwards. Anyway, I stress again that there is no evidence for it so this is a mere hypothesis<sup>13</sup>.

In the CGIII period we have ample specimens on both lands, Aegean in Cyprus, Cypriot in the Aegean, especially from the final stages onwards. Here we shall mention only three examples as they are very interesting from a chronological



point of view. From the warrior's tomb at Palaepaphos<sup>14</sup> we have two Cycladic and one Euboean skyphoi. The first of the Cycladic specimens has as a sole decoration a nice wavy line<sup>15</sup> while the second one is of the well known type with pendant semicircles. Their latest appearance is C.750<sup>16</sup> or a little later. The Euboean skyphos finds its closest parallel on one from Delos<sup>17</sup> which is dated in early Late Geometric, in other words shortly after 750 B.C. The pottery associated with these imports was of type IV. In the course of the eighth century the sea-communications have improved much. The rather wide distribution of them on the island indicates that it was a common vessel without great value for its owner. So, I exclude the possibility of being kept as heirlooms. The most probable date for the tomb seems a year C.720 B.C.

In the royal tomb excavated by the late Prof. Dikaïos at Salamis in Cyprus<sup>18</sup> an Attic krater was recovered (Pl. 1a) and a great homogeneous group of Attic skyphoi of the MGII times. The beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century is for Mr Coldstream the proposed time for them<sup>19</sup>. With these Attic specimens, two skyphoi with pendant semicircles were found and they were dated by Desborough<sup>20</sup> prior to 750 B.C. In the tomb two burials took place and we have good grounds<sup>21</sup> on which to associate the Aegean group with the first burial. Pottery of type III and IV was found in the tomb. Obviously the Aegean group was deposited with type III<sup>22</sup>. A date C.750 is not improbable for this and as the tomb was a family one and as the

remains of the first burial belong to a woman we suppose that the second burial belongs to a man, the husband of the cremated woman. Therefore, 20 - 30 years might separate the two burials or even less. A year between 730 - 720 for the second burial and for pottery of type IV seems very likely.

Amathus tomb No.9 contained three Aegean imports<sup>23</sup>; the two, Nos 76, 122, are according to Coldstream Cycladic or Euboean LG skyphoi<sup>24</sup>; the third one which is not mentioned by Coldstream is a late Geometric imitation of a Corinthian kotyle.

Gjerstad, in dating the tomb, based his conclusions on six scarabs found in it which were regarded, at that time, as of the Saite period. Indeed, scarab No.6 was attributed with certainty to this dynasty. These results brought up some confusion at the beginning and Young used them to confirm his theory that vases of geometric shape and decoration continued well into the 7th century<sup>25</sup>. In any case, the whole evidence was rather ignored till the time the scarabs were put into the right perspective by T.H.G. James (Perachora II p. 463) where he said "In the case of scarabs the precise dating of specimens to the Twenty-sixth dynasty is particularly hazardous because nobody has yet produced a reliable corpus of dated Egyptian scarabs... The conclusions are clear. Scarabs from Greek sites are not by themselves good material for dating purposes." That is then the case on which Gjerstad has placed such reliance. Certainly, at that time, he could not do otherwise as the belief of the Egyptologists was that the most reliable evidence for

chronological purposes were the scarabs<sup>26</sup>.

Gjerstad connected the Aegean vases with pottery of type IV and this is more or less correct. The imitation of the Corinthian kotyle was found in the second burial layer with some type IV vases and fully developed type V. It was found 75 cm. higher than the tomb's floor, while the other two Greek vessels were only 27 and 30 cm. No.122 is decorated like Delos XV, Ae72<sup>27</sup> but its shape, with the relatively high lip, finds best parallels in Delos XV, Ae61<sup>28</sup> or even better Delos XV, Bb51<sup>29</sup> which is very early Euboean Late Geometric. No.19, the imitation of the early Late Geometric Corinthian kotyle is rather East Greek perhaps from Smyrna. The haphazard execution of its decoration betrays a hand like one from Smyrna<sup>30</sup> which copies one from Ischia<sup>31</sup>. The latter is early in Late Geometric and as its decoration ~~has~~ changed quickly in the motherland, the Smyrnaean kotyle must also be rather early in the series as it copies its decoration. The difficulty with this imitation is that we do not know for how long they continued to manufacture it. The careless execution of the decoration of the kotyle found at Amathus and even the top-heavy placing of its handles speak in favour of at least mid-Late Geometric, with more probability of being late in the series.

If we, now, come to date the material, the two skyphoi Nos 76 and 122 found in the first burial stratum and connected with pottery of type IV offer no great difficulty. They are early Late Geometric so the Cypriot pottery ought to be contem-

porary. It may be dated C.740 B.C. or a little later even though I do not think we can lower this date beyond 730 B.C. The kotyle as we have said was found in the second burial layer with some vases of type IV and plenty of fully developed type V. This distribution of the finds seems to indicate an interval of time as no early pottery of type V was recovered. How long this interval was, is a mere guess. I think that not more than thirty years were enough for the emergence and maturity of this type in this stage. The East Greek kotyle, being of mid or rather late in Late Geometric time, gives an approximate end to the type IV pottery and the emergence of type V. It seems that this date can be equated with the end of Coldstream's East Greek Late Geometric, namely C.680 B.C. Of course, the weak point in the acceptance of this date lies in the absence of the early type V pottery, which could permit us a more accurate dating if it was there; but nevertheless we cannot ignore altogether the results given.

In the same tomb, type III pottery was found mixed with type IV in the first burial layer, where the Cycladic or Euboean late Geometric skyphoi were found; an indication that the first interment took place after the emergence of type IV when type III was still current. This ascribes the end of type III pottery C.740 B.C. or very soon afterwards.

From Amathus again, from tomb No.13, an Attic, not Argive as ~~it~~ was first stated, krater was discovered<sup>32</sup>. In the tomb, two burials layers were distinguished and connected with pottery



of type III and V. The first layer was attributed by Gjerstad to late CGIII, and with this the Attic krater was connected. This krater belongs to Coldstream's Attic MGII<sup>33</sup> namely between 800 - 760 B.C., so I do not think we can push the dating for this layer, lower than 740 B.C. and this is in all probability the date of the end of type III pottery.

In the RDAC, 1970, 86ff, Gjerstad published part of the contents of a tomb (the second burial) from Amathus in which a Protocorinthian aryballos was found (pl. 1b). The majority of the vases was of type IV with even a transitional one of IV-V, which means that the burial layer could be assigned to the very end of class IV pottery. In the same burial two vases were recognised as type III.

The aryballos has a low conical foot, ovoid body, short neck and handle from shoulder to lip; the latter projects considerably and slants slightly inwards. Its decoration consists of a ray ornament springing up from the base, bands and rings on the belly, two running hounds on the shoulder with stemmed spirals under them and a volute-palmette opposite the handle and separating the hounds. On the lip there are six groups of four vertical lines. The height of the aryballos is 9.2 cm.

The dating of this Corinthian vase is quite a difficult problem. The shape is not a very precise criterion<sup>34</sup>, and the running dogs of the decoration cannot elucidate it<sup>35</sup>. Only the combination of both can shed some light on the problem. The shape of the aryballos is neither globular nor piriform or

pointed. It is ovoid and accordingly it must be placed in the MPC series<sup>36</sup>. Coldstream places the beginning of MPC c.690 B.C.<sup>37</sup>; very probably it lasted till c.650<sup>38</sup>. A good many close parallels in shape could be quoted like Johansen's pl.XV: 6, 8, XX: 1a, XXI: 2, even though they lack the prominent foot of the Cypriot example. All of them belong to his *Epoque des aryballes ovoïdes*, *Style sub-geometrique*, *Style Archaïque Classe A*, dated by him between 725 - 690 B.C.<sup>39</sup>. Today, of course, this class can be attributed to Coldstream's MPC I, in absolute terms something between 690 - 670 B.C. The EPC aryballoi have small neck in relation to the whole<sup>40</sup> and as our example fits well this detail it could be very early in the ovoid MPC series. Another feature which can have some significance in the chronology of the aryballos is the shape of the handle. If we observe carefully the globular EPC specimens<sup>41</sup> we see their handles springing up from the shoulder and attached on the lips after a smooth, gentle curve. In the next period this practice is abandoned almost from the very beginning, in favour of a handle which after it springs up, diverges from the lip and then turns abruptly to meet it. The handle of our aryballos belongs to the first category and it is an additional evidence for its earliness in the series of the ovoid aryballoi.

If we now turn to examine the decoration, the ray ornament, the rings and bands, the barred handle and the running dogs which we have already mentioned, cannot add anything towards a precise solution of the chronological problem. We are

left with the spiral stalks under the dogs, the volute-palmette between them and the groups of strokes on the lip. Can these motifs be of any greater help to us than the previous ones? The last motif was examined by Gjerstad<sup>42</sup>, who tried in vain to find an exact parallel. The other two were not discussed at all by him. I do not think, however, that the strokes on the lip are so significant as to deserve our attention. After all, it is so simple a motif that it may be even due to a momentary caprice of the artist and it cannot be used as a chronological criterion. At all events, the most determining factor for its chronology is the volute-palmette, with the spiral stalks as a secondary one. Both motifs can be paralleled on vases discovered in Athens. In Ker. VI:2, p.136 top row the second is a spiral stalk, although not so long as on the Amathusian aryballos and on p.134, the fourth design of the has good similarities to its volute-palmette. Both have lines joining the volutes above the palmette and a lozenge-like ornament further up. These motifs are dated by Kübler between 740 - 690 B.C. In any case, they are not unknown even later till perhaps the middle of the 7th century. The spiral-stalk is seen in Ker. VI: 2, p.339, Abb. 28, third group, top row the third and the volute-palmette on p.363, Abb. 38, second row the first. The latter design was dated by Kübler C.660 B.C.

From what we have said it is clear that the aryballos cannot post date 650 B.C.<sup>45</sup>. In fact, taking into account shape and decoration the most probable date we gain for its

manufacture is 690 - 680 B.C. If we allow another ten years for its deposition, we reach a date C.675 for the emergence of class V pottery which seems the likeliest one.

As we have seen, to the same burial, two vases of type III were attributed. This evidence is an indication of the shortness of period IV, barely covering 70 years of life.

The only instance which seems a little confusing about the dating of the beginning of CAI is an Argive kantharos discovered in a tomb at Ktima, Paphos, by a French Archaeological Mission<sup>46</sup>. The tomb in which it was found was numbered IIIb<sup>47</sup> and was badly disturbed. The pottery it contained ranged from CGI to CAI. Only a few vases were attributed to the last category<sup>48</sup> and the Argive kantharos was dissociated from them and associated with pottery of type III<sup>49</sup>. <sup>Whether</sup> If this is so, I cannot judge but surely our reliance on the evidence of this tomb must be very limited because of its disturbance. On the other hand, if we associate this kantharos which is dated C.700 B.C. at the earliest with the type IV pottery, then we have another indication that at that time, type IV pottery was already established.

I leave for the time being the Greek evidence from Cyprus and I turn to the other side, to the Aegean. Over the last eight years Prof. Schefold carried out excavations at the ancient site of Eretria<sup>50</sup> with some rather radical results for Cypriot pottery of type IV. Here, on stratigraphic evidence we have pottery of type IV, associated with Euboean LG of an early date. The sherd No.4 from pl.38 in the Ant. K.<sup>51</sup> found with the



Cypriot type pottery, belongs to Euboean early LG<sup>52</sup>. The design of a Euboean skyphos found in a tomb of Palaepaphos (pl.2a) and mentioned in the appropriate chapter is nearly the same. Mrs Kahil states clearly<sup>53</sup> that some sherds of the Euboean pottery found there, ~~dated~~ 710 B.C. I have already pointed out that they must be of 750-725 B.C. Now, since the time the Cypriot pottery was shipped for Greece, it was broken and was thrown there, ten to twenty years should elapse. So, we reach the conclusion that a date C.750 for the emergence of Cypriot type IV is not strange. However, the results from Eretria taken in conjunction with the evidence from Cyprus favour a date somehow later and I can only see the beginning of type IV C.740 B.C. Thus, we obtain the following chronology. CGIII 875-740, CAI 740 -<sup>675</sup>. The end of CA is not our major concern here, but we can roughly say that CAIA spans the time 740-700 B.C.

The chronology of the Greek Iron Age of Attica and a few other areas is rather well established, thanks to the work of Mrs Desborough on the Protogeometric period and Mr Coldstream on the Geometric. There is a general agreement on many of its basic problems and chronological divisions, except the sub-Mycenaean. Here, we believe, with others, that it is a western Attic style overlapping considerably the final stages of LHIIIC of other districts.

The only major divergence of opinions is the beginning of the sub-Minoan period which coincides with parts of the

Protogeometric in other regions of the Aegean. As it is of major interest for our future task we must try to see if there is any way of compromise. The late <sup>Mr.</sup> Brock cites the beginning of the sub-Minoan period in 1020 B.C.<sup>54</sup> and places its end in 970 B.C. basing his results on the material from Fortetsa. Furumark wants the same period circumscribed in 1075 - 1025<sup>55</sup>. It seems however, that Hutchinson's view is the most correct when he says that the sub-Minoan period might well have lasted a hundred years<sup>56</sup>. I should go even further and ascribe to it a longer duration agreeing with Snodgrass' conclusions ascribing varying durations to the various Cretan districts. A date between 1100- 920 for the sub-Minoan period is the one accepted here. The initial date of the Attic Protogeometric is the year 1050 B.C. as is recently shown by Desborough<sup>58</sup>.

After this lengthy discussion the revised Cypriot chronology runs as follows:

CGI	1050 - 950
CGII	950 - 875
CGIII	875 - 740
CAIA	740 - 700 ?
CAIB	700?- 675

## 2. NECK-HANDLED AMPHORA

Its origin goes back to Mycenaean times<sup>59</sup>. In Athens, the link is provided by the specimens found in the Kerameikos cemetery the earliest of which is well into the sub-Mycenaean period. In early Protogeometric times the clay ground technique was the only one practised, giving way to a dark ground one in the end of the period. There is also a progress in shape from globular to ovoid. In the end of the period the shape spreads outside Attica. At Marmariani, in Thessaly, the Attic influence started perhaps a little earlier. It passed into Geometric times with radical changes in the system of decoration. Desborough divides these amphorai into two classes; clay ground and dark ground. His criterion for this is the painting of the neck; more sub-divisions are made according to the decoration of the shoulder.

In Cyprus, the neck-handled amphora is already known in the P.Wh.P. technique and seems to be part of the island's Mycenaean inheritance. The earliest known one is perhaps in Mr Pierides' collection<sup>60</sup>. It is only 19 cm. high. It has a low conical foot, rather globular body, narrow straight neck and everted lip. The decoration consists of one band at the junction of neck and body and two groups of one thick band bordered by two thin ones on either side of the belly. Lip and base are painted. On the upper part of the shoulder there are floating languettes. The outer part of the handles is painted.

From the CGI period we have very few specimens in Wh.P.I. and some more in Black Slip I. The contrast is great if we

compare the neck-handled amphora with the one having the handles from shoulder to lip. It seems that the popularity of the latter deprived the former of any significant circulation, as it could, perhaps, substitute all its functions. The shape continues into CGII but I do not think it survived beyond the 10th century, even though Deshayes gives it a longer life<sup>61</sup>.

Some resemblances between the Cypriot and Attic series are due to common ancestry. No mutual influences can be detected. The triple band on the lower part of belly on the amphora from Larnaka<sup>62</sup> has been discussed in connexion with the belly-handled amphorai. The somehow puzzling phenomenon is the rope handles on the same vase. The same handles are found on an amphora from Elis<sup>63</sup> transitional from sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric but I do not think there is any connexion between the two vases. Slashing of handles in imitation of rope occurs at Karphi<sup>64</sup> and Ayios Ioannis near Knossos<sup>65</sup>. In the latter region it is rather MPG but we cannot be very precise for Karphi. In Mycenaean times this type of handle is not unknown<sup>66</sup>. In Attica the rope handle emerged in MGI<sup>67</sup> and in the 9th century it was known in many other regions<sup>68</sup>; I cannot find any link between these vases and the Cypriot one from Larnaka or another jug's rope handle from Pigadhes<sup>69</sup>.

From Crete, the amphorai from Kourtes<sup>70</sup> are out of the Attic tradition in shape but I cannot find any other source for their decoration of upright and pendant semi-circles, apart from Attica, either directly or indirectly. The shape resembles



very much one from Lapithos<sup>71</sup>, Cyprus, of CGI, with highish conical foot. A similar and nearly contemporary but bigger amphora occurs at Kourion<sup>72</sup>. The decoration on both Cypriot specimens is entirely different. Desborough wants the Cretan one an evolution of a stirrup-vase<sup>73</sup>, and although this is not certain it is more probable than any link with Cyprus. A gap of perhaps two hundred years separates them and at least for the moment we are unable to bridge it and speak of any influence. Another neck-handled amphora from Mulino - Phaestos called by Doro Levi Protogeometric<sup>74</sup> shows the conical foot of the Kourtes example but its decoration is different and it can also be dissociated from Cyprus.

### 3. THE BELLY-HANDLED AMPHORA

The shape of this amphora is extremely popular in Attica during the Protogeometric times, due, perhaps, to the burial customs of this region as Desborough has pointed out<sup>75</sup>. However, in the rest of the Aegean, even though scarce, it is not altogether absent<sup>76</sup>. In Cyprus, its popularity since LCIIIC times is well attested. The fact is, indeed very remarkable if we bear in mind that here the burial custom was different than in Attica and still the belly-handled amphorai were so numerous, and not only that but the shape retained its popularity throughout the entire Cypriot Iron Age.

The ancestors for both regions are to be found in Mycenaean times<sup>77</sup>. Apart from similarities because of common ancestry, we shall try to detect any mutual influences during their evolution. The Attic Protogeometric amphorai are divided by Desborough in two classes; one with flaring neck and one with high neck and everted lip. A third class with a short vertical neck existed in the transitional period from sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric but it did not even reach the latter; it was soon abandoned. All three classes were in the clay ground technique but their necks were invariably painted. In the end of the period their lower half was sometimes painted and vertical motifs tended to replace the semicircles which established themselves as the standard decoration for these amphorai<sup>78</sup>. Their Cypriot counterparts are more or less distinguished in the same classes and they are always in the clay ground technique.

The painted neck of the Cypriot amphorai is nearly always broken by one thick or one to two groups of thin reserved bands. The same custom is found on some Attic ones, even though the breaking may be due to only one band. It is also seen at Asine<sup>79</sup> and Perati<sup>80</sup>. Both belong to the last phase of Myc. IIIC1. The former may be earlier than the latter but probably it does not antedate 1100 B.C.

A design, which perhaps looks very simple, so that one might deny the need for external influences, is the triple band which borders the wavy lines on the belly from below. It is

used by the Athenian potters from the transitional period from sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric. In Cyprus it is never found on P.Wh.P. vases. It appears simultaneously with the emergence of Wh.P.I. pottery. If we compare Ker.563 or 530<sup>81</sup>, which are transitional sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric, with examples from Lapithos<sup>82</sup> or Larnaka<sup>83</sup> we see the same application of the motif in both districts. The triple band was more popular in Cyprus in the succeeding stages of the CG times. On P.Wh.P. vases a somehow similar motif consisting of two bands bordering a thicker one may be the prototype for the triple band<sup>84</sup>.

An oddity found on the amphora 918 of Kerameikos<sup>85</sup>, deserves our attention. It has a low foot but instead of resting on it, it rests on three loop supports. According to some scholars<sup>86</sup>, the feature is Syro-Cypriot. The supports of this type that we have from Cyprus, antedate the Kerameikos amphora but they are not used on amphorai but on bowls<sup>87</sup>. However, the idea is there and I do not think we must look beyond Cyprus to find the inspiration of the Athenian potter. They might well have been a transformation in clay of metal originals<sup>88</sup>. From Attica we have two more examples. One from Marathon and one from Piraeus street of early MGII<sup>89</sup>. A skyphos in the Emmerich Gallery New York, is supported on the same kind of loops<sup>90</sup>; in shape it looks closer to Cyprus. It is ~~rather~~<sup>perhaps</sup> LG if we are to judge from the handles. All three follow the uncouth Cypriot fashion, which was perhaps re-introduced c.800 B.C.

The transitional sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric amphora

No.569<sup>91</sup> has a peculiar double handle, which looks very much like a conventional animal's (bull's?) head. The time that separates it from the Warrior Vase of Mycenae speaks against an influence from there. According to Desborough's revised chronology<sup>92</sup> this Attic vase should be dated c.1050 B.C. In Cyprus a more naturalistic one is known from a Wh.P.I. bowl on loop supports. It might be contemporary or even earlier than the Athenian amphora if we can judge from the more conventional rendering of the double handle on the Athenian specimen, therefore, an inspiration from Cyprus is rather probable. Against this theory is the absence of the double loop-handle on Cypriot belly-handled amphorai. The same absence is observed for the loop-supports. Both, however, are found on a bowl in the British Museum<sup>93</sup> and it is highly probable that such was the vessel which inspired loop supports and double handle on the Athenian amphorai.

These handles are discussed by Mrs Oakeshott<sup>94</sup> quite exhaustively. What she says confirms that no specimen need be earlier than 1050 B.C. The krater in Munich which is quoted by her as perhaps the first specimen<sup>95</sup> is not earlier than the Kerameikos amphora we cited before. The Warrior Vase cannot be lowered below 1150 B.C. and I do not think we have any link between this and the Protogeometric times. The krater from Karphi<sup>96</sup> causes some trouble because of its uncertain dating but I do not think that it antedates 1050 B.C.<sup>97</sup> The Thessalian kraters are of later date, late in the Attic Protogeometric



series so there is no reason to alter our conclusion. The movement was from Cyprus to Attica and the Aegean.

The reverse movement is perhaps detected because of the motif of the concentric circle on the belly of an amphora from Salamis, Cyprus<sup>98</sup>. The same design and, indeed, applied on the same place, emerged at the transition from sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric Attica. We can easily compare the Cypriot amphora with Ker.I pl.55, inv.569 from grave PG12 or AM, 81 (1966), Beil. 11: 4, 5. This Cypriot amphora was regarded P.Wh.P. by Mme Yon but if it is so, then the influence should be from Cyprus towards Attica, something which she herself does not accept<sup>99</sup>. The Cypriot amphora is an isolated example, so the influence must be from Attica on Cyprus, therefore we had better ascribe it to Wh.P.I. and date it soon after 1050 B.C.

In CGII, the belly-handled amphorai continued their production in Cyprus, while in the end of the Protogeometric period in Athens they are out of circulation or they are much changed<sup>100</sup>. In the LG period, however, they appear in a monumental size. The best example is certainly the famous one of the Dipylon master<sup>101</sup>. This vase and the rest of its category show no influence from Cyprus, in fact, their monumental size inspired the Cypriot potters of CAI to try and compete with them.

In the rest of the Aegean some examples of belly-handled amphorai are found, mainly inspired by Attic prototypes; but even so, some Cypriot influences can be detected.

In Crete, the small amphorai Fortetsa Nos 70 and 84<sup>102</sup>

may show connexions with Cyprus in the moulding of their slender neck and the solid painting of the handles. Anyway, no exact parallel can be shown<sup>103</sup>. The slender neck of Kourion 26: 89<sup>104</sup> which is of type I, is perhaps close enough, even though the amphoriskoi in the previous plates of the same tomb are closer<sup>105</sup>. The context of the Cretan amphorai is sub-Minoan, according to Brock. Most probably they are an evolution of Gypsades VII:1<sup>106</sup> but on a smaller scale.

Two more amphorai from Crete merit our attention. They belong to the type with two horizontal handles on the belly and two vertical ones on the shoulder. These Cretan vases are rather sub-Minoan although one of them is mentioned as coming from a Protogeometric tomb<sup>107</sup>. The same practice of placing the handles is known from Achaia<sup>108</sup> and mid-11th century Cyprus<sup>109</sup>. The question that arises now is whether the Cretan vases evolved separately from a common source for all three districts or whether they were manufactured under the influence of one of the other two regions. The view held here is that they derive from Cyprus because of the narrow, concave neck, the reserved bands on it and the considerably flaring lip. A comparison between Daniel's 26:7 or 89, pl.III and VI respectively, and the Cretan ones can be made.

We had the opportunity to discuss the loop supports found on an amphora in Athens. The same technique is applied on some LG - EO Cretan pithoi<sup>110</sup>. As it is in the whole of the Geometric period at home in Cyprus<sup>111</sup>, this island must

be looked for, as the constant source for the inspiration of the loop-supports.

The same phenomenon occurs in the Argolid. The well known Argive pyxis<sup>112</sup> of Late Geometric I and another amphora from Nauplion<sup>113</sup> of LGII, have strap loop-supports. They are either contemporary or a bit earlier than the Cretan examples but I regard both districts drawing their inspiration from Cyprus. From the time around 700 B.C., we have two more vases on loop-supports. One comes from Thera and it may well be a secondary Cretan influence, and another one comes from Delos<sup>114</sup>. The double-loop or double-arc handles, as Brock calls them, emerged at the transition to Protogeometric in Crete<sup>115</sup>. The krater from Karphi which we mentioned before is still an isolated find not connected with them. In the discussion of the problem in connexion with Attica we derived the form from Cyprus and the same result holds good also for Crete.

The angle at which the handles are attached on the necked pithos 206 from tomb IV at Fortetsa<sup>116</sup> is vertical in relation to the ground on which the vessel stands. The history of this handle goes back to the very beginning of CGIA on belly-handled amphorai<sup>117</sup> and becomes the favourite one in later times. It is rarely found in the Aegean and generally not in the first phases of the Iron Age. A Theran example<sup>118</sup> belongs to Late Geometric. From the same island we have some more specimens with flat projecting lip and low conical foot<sup>119</sup> which, both, are at home in Cyprus since a long time <sup>previously</sup> ago<sup>120</sup>.

In the CGIII period most of the belly-handled amphorai in Cyprus, are provided with a ridge, which is quite pronounced, below the rim<sup>121</sup>. The same moulding of approximately the same time is noticed on Cretan, Cycladic, Athenian and Boeotian<sup>122</sup> amphorai. The Cretan specimen belongs to the final years of Cretan late Protogeometric, perhaps C.850 B.C., while the earliest Attic one is of EGII date. The influence, thus, seemed to travel from Crete and the Aegean to Cyprus since very recently, when a fresh discovery at Lysi<sup>123</sup>, in Cyprus, altered the results completely (pl.2b). The amphora found there belongs to CGI-II period. It is in the Wh.P. technique. Its neck is divided into two panels each one bearing a small concentric circle and below the rim a pronounced ridge can be seen. A Rhodian example from Kamiros<sup>124</sup>, belonging to the end of the 10th century is perhaps the first effort to imitate the new technique even though not precisely. The shape of this vase, however, is not in pure Attic tradition as it is in decoration, (which is Attic).

The next specimen from Rhodes<sup>125</sup> to be examined is in Early Geometric tradition, early in the 9th century. Its shape is globular like the previous one, but there is no "ridge" here below the rim. We have double loop-handles and conical foot. What interests us more is the decoration, consisting of vertical rows of cross-hatched lozenges bordered by vertical lines. The two panels on the belly are divided and bordered by these vertical rows of cross-hatched lozenges. Each one of the



panels bears a concentric circle in multiple outline with a solid Maltese cross in the middle. The same decoration is applied on the shoulder.

The solid Maltese cross confined in multiple floating concentric circles is found on a Cretan bell krater and another amphoroid pithos<sup>126</sup> of approximately the same date and perhaps contemporary with the Rhodian amphora. At all events, the Attic specimens we have, decorated with this motif are earlier<sup>127</sup>, but the motif itself is not found on amphorai. In Cyprus, however,<sup>it</sup> is found at the very beginning of CGIA<sup>128</sup> and even though it can be traced beyond this time in the Aegean, there is no link with the specimens we mentioned, thence, the design travelled from Cyprus to the Aegean.

The vertical rows of cross-hatched lozenges are again seen in Cyprus, especially on shoulders of belly-handled amphorai or on deep bowls<sup>130</sup>. This, of course, does not mean that the Rhodian potter was a mere copyist. It is true that his motifs come from Cyprus, but the synthesis is entirely his own creation.

A final look at the emergence of the belly-handled amphora in Athens shows us that the earliest specimen is Kera-meikos 420<sup>131</sup>; it is of the "short vertical neck variety". This type does not go further than the transitional period to Protogeometric. Afterwards we have the emergence of the other two types with "flaring neck" or with "high neck and everted lip". Now, is this last type merely the evolution of the

previous one or can we see an impulse from Cyprus where the shape existed in the P.Wh.P. technique<sup>132</sup>? The evolution of the type with flaring neck is shown by Kerameikos 563; we ought, also, not to forget that it is found on amphoriskoi, but for the type with high neck and everted lip an inspiration from Cyprus cannot be excluded altogether.

The results we gained may not be spectacular but nonetheless their existence cannot be overlooked. We have indications of influence from Attica on Cyprus, on the concentric circle motif applied on the belly of the amphora C.1050 B.C. A reverse movement at the same time took there the triple band painted on the lower part of the belly, the double-loop handle, the Maltese cross and probably the shape of the belly-handled amphora with high neck and everted lip. In the second half of the 10th century, Attica borrows also the loop-supports and the same is done in the early 8th. Crete is influenced from Cyprus in the second half of the 11th century, as we find at Karphi the double-loop handle and elsewhere the amphora with four handles. Cypriot influence is also detected in both Crete and Attica in the second quarter of the 9th century because of the presence of the neck-ridge. The double loop-handles made a second appearance in Crete in the last quarter of the 10th century. Cyprus also exerts influence on Crete and the Argolid in mid-8th century by providing them with the loop-supports. At the same time the Cyclades, and a little earlier, Crete, are under Cypriot influence for the attachment of the handles and the moulding of the lip of their amphorai. In the late 10th, early 9th century

Rhodes gets from Cyprus the rows of cross-hatched lozenges and probably the Maltese cross. Finally the big type IV Cypriot amphorai are manufactured under Attic influence.

#### 4. SHOULDER-HANDLED AMPHORA

This type of amphora, as we know it from Attica, does not exist in Cyprus. We can consider a variant of it with vertical handles on the belly as the equivalent to the Athenian shape. At any rate, no similarities are clear, thus no influence from the one or the other side can be clearly detected.

The Attic Protogeometric examples usually have ovoid body, low ring foot, high flaring neck, with handles starting from the lower part of the shoulder and finishing below the neck. They mostly date from late Protogeometric but there is a transitional one from sub-Mycenaean<sup>133</sup> and another one, published in CVA Suisse I, Geneve 1, III H, pl.5, may belong to the first half of the 10th century.

The miniature amphoriskos from grave No.114 at Kerameikos<sup>134</sup> looks alien to the Attic tradition. The bird vase found with it, imitates Achaian prototypes. I cannot be sure whether there is any imitation from anywhere but certainly the shape has its predecessors in Myc.III C1e times<sup>135</sup>.

The amphora from Theotokou<sup>136</sup>, in Thessaly, has a low foot, oval body and high flaring neck. It does not look far away from the Attic series and its context suggests influence from there. The same is certain for a specimen from Andros<sup>137</sup>.

From the Cyclades we have a type of shoulder-handled amphora, small in size, showing no connexions with Attica apart from the decoration. The most remarkable are, perhaps, those in Mykonos<sup>138</sup> which were found on the island of Rheneia<sup>139</sup>. A similar one turned up from Samos<sup>140</sup>. It is only 23.5 cm. high and it is painted all over except the shoulder which is decorated with slanting diagonals executed in a haphazard way. They are separated into three groups; the central one is vertical and the side ones lean towards it. It is dated by the excavator in the Protogeometric times, namely 1000 - 900 B.C. At all events, its dark ground technique is a late Protogeometric innovation of Attica spread all over the Aegean. The same applies for the slanting diagonals. It seems that if it really belongs to the 10th century as the excavator wants it, it must be ascribed to its dying years, namely shortly before 900 B.C.

The Cycladic amphorai, the biggest one of which hardly exceeds 31 cm., are according to Coldstream sub-Protogeometric, in other words the earliest specimens belong to the first half of the 9th century.

Exact parallels to this shape, Cyprus cannot offer, but a comparison to SCE IV:2, Fig. XIV:4 is not entirely unreasonable. The handles of the Cypriot amphora are placed vertically



on the belly, while on the Cycladic and Samian examples they are placed on the shoulder. At the same time the former has a vertical long neck while the latter have a short concave one merging with the shoulder. The Cypriot amphora is of Wh.P.II. I regard it as of IIA, as it has its predecessors in type I<sup>141</sup>. A closer parallel to the Cycladic ones can be offered by a jar of type III<sup>142</sup> but then, if there was an influence it travelled from the Aegean to Cyprus. However, its neck lacks the moulding of a lip and I am inclined to see it as an evolution of previous Cypriot jar types.

If there was any influence from the Aegean on Cyprus or if the opposite took place, it is very difficult to assess; in any case I am of the idea that there was not any for this shape.

The Cycladic vases look more like the Cretan necked pithoi with vertical handles on shoulder<sup>143</sup>. The earliest Cretan specimen is perhaps No.244 from Fortetsa<sup>144</sup>. According to Brock, the context of tomb III where this vase was found is of developed Protogeometric style and the tomb itself is dated by him in Middle Protogeometric times<sup>145</sup>. Obviously, the evidence from Crete fits well in the Aegean series as to be accepted the inspiring source for this type of vase. An additional reason for accepting Crete as its place of origin is the great number of them found on the island. The only difference, perhaps, between the Cretan and the Cycladic examples is the short neck and the often found ridge below it and of course the system of decoration of the former.

From what is said, it is clear that there was a distinct type of shoulder-handled amphora in late Protogeometric in Attica, which influenced certain areas like southern Thessaly and Andros. A distinct Cycladic type of the early 9th century is Cretan in inspiration while Cyprus stands rather apart, showing no clear connexions with the Aegean world.

In the late 8th century, it seems that the Athenian potters copied the Cretan/Cycladic shape and used it as a cooking ware<sup>146</sup>. The connexions can be found on Fortetsa's No. 593<sup>147</sup> which is Late Geometric.

5. AMPHORA WITH HANDLES FROM SHOULDER TO LIP

The shape of this amphora is very popular in Cyprus where the neck-handled variety is extremely rare. Exactly the opposite happens in Attica and the rest of the Aegean world.

Its Mycenaean origin is beyond doubt<sup>148</sup>. Stubbings distinguishes two classes<sup>149</sup>; one with broad vertical neck and two vertical strap handles and occasionally flat rim, a type which is rather made after a metallic prototype, while the second type has handles circular in section and not so angular. The rim is also absent. It seems as if the first ancestors of the shape are the amphoroid kraters of Myc. III A1.

The absence of the form in sub-Mycenaean times and its extreme rarity in the Protogeometric period speaks in favour of an introduction of the shape from abroad which in any case, never acquired firm roots in the Athenian soil. The neck-handled amphora has given no ground for its expansion. Thus, the few specimens we have, they show a rectilinear decoration instead of the fashionable curvilinear.

Exact parallels to the Athenian specimens cannot be quoted from Cyprus for the decoration. For the shape, if we compare Kourion 26A:75 with No.523 from Kerameikos<sup>151</sup> the only difference is the slightly less broad base of the Cypriot specimen and its rather straight neck. The lip is on both everted.

The amphorai, or rather amphoriskoi, 2013 and 911<sup>152</sup> with the cross-hatched triangle on the shoulder can be matched by one from Lapithos<sup>153</sup> in P.Wh.P. (pl.3A). Its base is not very similar but on the shoulder bears cross-hatched triangles outlined on each side by a ladder pattern while the Athenian specimens are merely in outline.

The shape of this amphora is abandoned in Attica in the end of the Protogeometric period, only to emerge again at the transition of MGI - II, but without anything impressive in it. It has a strap handle and everted lip. The earliest one from grave 12<sup>154</sup> has a very low, concave neck which is in reality a continuation of the shoulder without the slightest hint of distinction. No Cypriot specimen is close enough to anyone of these. The neck of the Cypriot amphorai in type III is a unit



which merits care for its own sake and it tends to be higher than the Athenian ones.

In Attica more amphorai came to light from some LG wells in the Agora<sup>155</sup>, continuing the MGII shape, thus showing no exact similarities with Cyprus.

In Crete these amphorai appeared in mid-10th century. The first one in the series may be one from Fortetsa<sup>156</sup> measuring only 20 cm. In shape it finds good parallels in Cyprus like SCE IV:2 Fig VI:4. For decoration we see the wavy lines on many Cypriot amphoriskoi like Lapithos RDAC 1965, p.88:125 pl. XIV:9. From tomb "Θ", at Fortetsa again, we have a baseless amphora<sup>157</sup> something unknown in the Cypriot tradition for this category of vases. It is rather influenced by contemporary Cretan belly-handled amphorai. Its neck is quite broad but merges with the body in a continuous curve like most of the MGII-LG Attic specimens. On the latter, however, the neck is shorter and there is also a low base.

From the chamber tomb I at Vrokastro we have an amphora with globular body, highish conical foot and short neck<sup>158</sup>. We are not sure about its dating but I do not think it earlier than the 10th century, although it might be considerably later<sup>159</sup>. Its short neck and handles are not in the Cypriot tradition but its foot looks Cypriot; but again this foot is found in the local tradition. It is really a doubtful case of connexion.

From Naxos, from a well in the yard of the modern Gymnasium, we have a vase whose neck and handles are in the Cypriot



fashion. In the publication it is stated as Geometric without further precision. Another big fragment<sup>160</sup> from the same well shows the same distinct vertical neck, a very Cypriot characteristic.

Finally, we have the evidence from Lefkandi. A very graceful amphora<sup>161</sup> turned up from there. Its decoration can be matched satisfactorily from the Attic late Protogeometric specimens. Kerameikos IV, 2013, pl.8 from tomb 40, has on the shoulder big cross-hatched triangles in outline. Below them there are two reserved bands and then all round the belly a dog-tooth design. The same shoulder decoration is found on inv. 911, Ker. IV, pl.8. The specimen from Lefkandi has exactly the same decoration but the triangles are not in outline. The rest of its decoration is paralleled on 2012, Ker. IV, pl.8 where we have a chequer-board on the neck, while the lower part of the body is divided into panels of the same design or cross-hatching. I think that the Lefkandi specimen is the latest of all as it surpasses in arrangement of the decoration all the others. It was found in tomb No.22 along with some other Attic late Protogeometric vases and a Cypriot jug of CGIIA.

From what is said, it is most probable that the amphora with handles from shoulder to lip was transferred from Cyprus to Attica c.1050 B.C. where, at any rate, it was never popular; This is reflected in the scarcity of the shape. In Crete it was introduced in mid-10th century and here again it was quite

unpopular. The amphorai from Ayios Ioannis<sup>162</sup> were intended rather as neck-handled but because of the short neck they look as lip-handled. The amphora from Vrokastro might be a Cypriot influence but the same cannot be said for Lefkandi, which is clearly in the Attic late Protogeometric tradition. The Naxian evidence favours a Cypriot influence. The Attic late Geometric amphorai might be, according to Miss Brann, a product of experimenting with the kados. At all events, if we take into account that the lip-handled amphorai re-emerged at the very beginning of the 8th century, I do not think it impossible to be straight descendants of these early 8th century vessels which, in turn, were a Cypriot influence not faithfully copied but freely imitated.

Before closing this chapter I thought it advisable to refer to an amphoriskos from Karphi<sup>163</sup>. It is not improbable ~~that it is a~~ ~~to be~~ Cypriot imitation<sup>164</sup>. Its decoration is very simple consisting of bands and two wavy lines on the shoulder thus, not permitting clear detections about influence. However, as it is an isolated type at Karphi and as some other Cypriot imitations exist there, it makes it very possible that the amphoriskos travelled from Cyprus to Crete.

## 6. HYDRIA

The origins of the shape are to be sought in Mycenaean times, where two types are distinguished<sup>165</sup>. The first and older one has the handle attached below the lip while the latest example has it fixed on it. In the Iron Age in Athens, the second type is in use, in Cyprus the first one. In the latter region there is no straight link with the past. The first Cypriot specimens date from CGIA, while in Athens some examples need not be earlier than 930 B.C.<sup>166</sup> but according to Desborough one from the Agora is transitional from sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric<sup>167</sup>, and apparently there are more true sub-Mycenaean from the same place<sup>168</sup>.

The Cypriot hydriai are really big vases, varying in height between 40-50 cm. There are very few occasions when they measure between 30-40 cm. and only one which is under 20cm. In reality, the last one is a miniature hydria. It is not a common shape either in Cyprus or Athens. The Cypriot ones are rather ovoid, with base ring, concave neck - the tapering one is not absolutely unknown - with two side handles set between shoulder and belly and a vertical one from neck to shoulder. In CGII it continues with minor changes and the same happens in CGIII. In CAI it looks more ovoid with a depressed shoulder but generally it is more dynamic.

As far as the present evidence goes, no clear links can be traced between Attica and Cyprus in the CGI period. In any case, if we examine the miniature hydria from Lapithos<sup>169</sup> we can see interesting things. First of all, its size which is an

exception for Cyprus is not so in Athens. It measures only 18.5 cm. and the Athenian hydriai of the last quarter of the 10th century are slightly bigger<sup>170</sup>. At the same time the horizontal handles are attached on the belly and not between shoulder and belly, something strange for Cyprus where the practice is to fix them much higher. It is exactly this feature which makes me think that there might be an influence from Attica. Somebody could say that if there was an influence it should travel the opposite way as the Cypriot hydriske is of CGIA while the Attic specimens are late Protogeometric. This is really so, but because of the setting of the horizontal handles I accept the opposite and I think that perhaps some sub-Mycenaean hydriai which I have been unable to examine, may show influence on Cyprus. Even the vertical handle which is fixed on the neck curves downwards to meet it, as if the first intention of the potter was to attach it on the lip.

Apart from this exceptional case, the rest of the big CGI hydriai offer no similarities with Attica ones. Closer to the Cypriot ones are some hydriskai recently discovered at Lefkandi<sup>171</sup>, as their vertical handle is attached on the lip. The difficulty is that they are so small and the Cypriot so big and with dissimilar decoration that one hesitates to see any connexions between the two districts.

After C.900 B.C., in Attica the hydria passes into obscurity. We have no examples in the EGI and II and also MGI. They reappear C.770 B.C. covered with a white slip but a little



later they are left in the clay ground technique with rudimentary decoration. Where the shape was re-introduced from, we shall discuss in due time.

The hydria from Delphi<sup>172</sup> is not in the Attic tradition. Strangely enough, it finds its closest parallels in Cyprus, where we can observe its high flaring neck and strap vertical handle attached on it quite often<sup>173</sup>. I, very much, hesitate to see any relation of the two regions. Was this similarity in lining, an indication of common ancestry?

The hydria from Skyros<sup>174</sup> is rather sure to be of Attic inspiration even though the vertical handle is not fixed on the lip. The one in the Vlasto collection is according to Coldstream Thessalian sub-Protogeometric<sup>175</sup>.

In the Cyclades, the earliest hydria comes from Tenos<sup>176</sup> and it belongs to the late Protogeometric times; it has low conical foot, ovoid body, rather long flaring neck and vertical handle from shoulder to lip. It is painted all over apart from a thick white band between the handles. It is 27 cm. high. The horizontal handles of it do not support very much an Attic influence but as it was recovered from the cemetery of Xombourgo where many other vases are clearly in the Attic tradition, we may also regard our hydria as an inspiration from there.

The rest of the Cycladic evidence is the material from Delos<sup>177</sup>, a quantity which is really puzzling. Coldstream dates them as Late Geometric but there are other people who support a much higher dating<sup>178</sup>. It seems that pl.XV: 27 is

the earliest. On the shoulder it bears standing and, sometimes, intersecting semicircles of five arcs each one, something not usual in the Attic Protogeometric tradition as Desborough points out<sup>179</sup>. However, we have another specimen with nine arcs<sup>180</sup> but still not so many as in Attic Protogeometric. A very popular motif is the wavy line between the handles and sometimes on the neck. The concentric circles on the belly or the shoulder are not unknown. The wavy line of the vertical handle terminates mostly in a kind of loop. A lozenge is found from time to time on the neck; it is divided by a St. Andrews cross into four smaller which are dotted. Another motif is the wiggly lines on the neck and a kind of pendant "tassel" but without the central line, as we know it from Mycenaean times. It looks rather like two brackets united at one end of their convex side. We have better call it "bracket ornament" as Brock does, for a similar Cretan motif. Invariably, the hydriai from Delos bear thick and thin bands on their bodies. Their shape is globular, depressed, with high concave neck and everted lip, vertical handle from shoulder to neck with the exception of pl.IX:33 which is attached to the lip. Their horizontal handles are set on the greatest diameter and they, really, are parallel to the ground on which the vase stands. I think that Coldstream is right in claiming them<sup>as</sup> LG if we can judge from the wiggly lines on the necks of some of them which ascribe them to the "Linear island" group which in turn is dated in Late Geometric times.

In Crete, till recently, it was believed that the hydria made its appearance in late Protogeometric times<sup>181</sup> but now, we are fairly sure that it emerged in Middle Protogeometric<sup>182</sup>. The new material comes from Gortyn. The Cretan hydriai are slender vessels, especially in PGB' when they acquire a very rich decoration. The vertical handle is attached on the neck which is high and slim. The horizontal handles are set on the greatest width of the vase and the lip is strongly moulded and everted.

If we compare the hydria from Gortyn<sup>183</sup> with one from Lapithos<sup>184</sup>, the <sup>out-</sup>lining of the shape is very similar even though there is a difference in the placing of the horizontal handles and the moulding of the lip. However, the lip of the Cretan hydria is found on a Cypriot one of type III from Kythrea<sup>185</sup> and surely the Cretan hydria is earlier but I do not think that it influenced the Cypriot one. Perhaps the opposite happened and I do not think it improbable for the lip of the Kythrea hydria to exist on another one of type II as it is present on many barrel or simple jugs of CGII<sup>186</sup>.

On a hydria from Knossos<sup>187</sup>, Brock's bracket ornament is present. This motif finds its exact parallels in Cyprus<sup>188</sup>. The position of the Cypriot motif is under the vertical handle while on the Cretan specimen it is found on the belly not on the same place. The similarity, however, is striking (pl.3b). This Cretan hydria very probably belongs to late Protogeometric. The same design and exactly on the same place as the



Cypriot one is found on a hydria from Fortetsa<sup>189</sup>, but the latter is more advanced. Another hydria from Atsalenio<sup>190</sup> near Knossos bears under the vertical handle but on the belly, thus having a distance from it, a triple bracket-ornament. This motif and especially its placing on the vase in the 9th century, points to Cyprus as its source of inspiration.

From East-Crete, from Vrokastro, the two specimens need not be earlier than 770 B.C. The one from Bone enclosure VI<sup>191</sup> is rather influenced from central Crete while the one from Bone enclosure XII<sup>192</sup> looks as if it is influenced from Attica<sup>193</sup> because of the regular banding on the lower part of the body. It may be dated c. 740 B.C.

In this latter district the re-emergence of the shape, as we said, took place in c. 770 B.C. The earliest hydriai of this place must be those of grave 89 from Kerameikos<sup>194</sup>. They do not look very much like the Cypriot hydriai of type III but they are even farther from the Cretan examples of the early 8th century with the rich decoration or the Samian ones with the vertical handle attached on the lip,<sup>195</sup> so, I see no alternative <sup>to</sup> ~~than~~ accepting Cyprus as the region of origin for these hydriai. As for the specimens of the second half of the 8th century, they draw their inspiration from the Cyclades. The simple decoration of bands on the Agora hydriai<sup>196</sup> is clear indication for this as it is the wavy line on the shoulder of No. 39. No. 37 has short hanging lines on it and an arrow pointing downwards, an Argive MGII innovation. If we try to



compare a new Attic hydria, which turned up from Sapphou street<sup>197</sup>, to a Delian one, let us say Délos XV, pl. VII: 24, we can easily detect some similarities which do not look fortuitous. The horizontal handles of both are fixed on the greatest width of the vases and in the same way. A wavy line is deployed between the handles. The main differences are the narrower base and the trefoil lip of the Athenian hydria.

According to Eva Brann, these Attic hydriai intentionally copy Protogeometric decoration in order to indicate that they are old fashioned vases. If, as we said, they are derived from Cyclades, her conclusion applies also for them. However, she does not mention this, and I do not think we are right in claiming a Protogeometric imitation. The gap of time between late 10th and late 8th centuries is so great and it is rather improbable that reminiscences of the former period could survive in the latter. Also the shape as a whole has differences<sup>198</sup>, which cannot be explained so easily.

In any case, we said that the shape comes from Cyclades where it reappeared C.750 B.C. or a little earlier, after an absence of nearly 150 years. The impulse for it came from Cyprus. It could also come from Crete but I do not think the delicate Cretan hydria could inspire the bulky Cycladic one. It only seems that they adopted its horizontal handles. As for the decoration, the only simple one consisting of bands and wavy lines was still to be seen in Cyprus<sup>199</sup> even after 700 B.C. This simple decoration blended with some more motifs

is the one that inspired Cyclades and through them Attica.

The Cycladic repertoire had still in its disposition about 750 B.C. the concentric semi-circle applied on skyphoi and from these they transferred it on the shoulder of the hydriai. This is perhaps the most plausible explanation of how it came to be found there. The concentric-circle motif of Délos DV, pl. X:35 is a Cypriot adoption, as is the bracket ornament which we discussed in connexion with Crete. Both of them might travel from Crete to the Cyclades, especially the latter one, seen pendant from the neck of a hydria and not under the vertical handle as is the usual practice in Cyprus. However, even the last one is not entirely unknown if we see Délos XV, pl. X:38 with a loop-like splashing under the vertical handle. The low conical base, the broad vertical strap handle, the nearly vertical high neck and the thick, flat, everted lip of the Cycladic hydriai is to be seen on the Cypriot ones of type III.

The ceremonial hydria of late 8th century from Attica, is a unique vase in the series of hydriai of all the Greek regions. It is painted in the current fashion of that time with dancing groups, chariots, animals and various geometric motifs. The one from Villa Giulia<sup>200</sup> has its horizontal handles attached in the Cypriot manner and I wonder whether there was an influence from there or it was simply the product of the advanced technique in pottery which permitted the potters many new innovations.

At all events, the evidences we have for connexions

between Cyprus and Attica in Protogeometric times are very scarce but this does not mean that we have to reject them altogether. The re-introduction of the shape in the latter district C.770 may be due to Cypriot ideas. The Athenian clay ground hydriai of the second half of the 8th century are directly influenced from the Cyclades and indirectly from Cyprus, from where the Cycladic potter got his inspirations. The Cretan hydriai owe at least the bracket-ornament to Cyprus whence they borrowed it in Cretan LPG. As for the Protogeometric hydria from Delphi it might be in the Cypriot sphere of influence. However, the remoteness of Delphi and the possible surviving of the Mycenaean shape with the vertical handle attached on the neck make such an assumption very improbable. Finally, some of the ceremonial hydriai from Athens may be indebted to the Cypriot tradition for the placing of their horizontal handles.

7. TREFOIL-LIPPED OINOCHOE

The shape of this vase was not unknown in Myc.IIIC times<sup>201</sup>. At first it was small, not exceeding 15 cm. in most cases, while in Protogeometric times it grew to between 25-30 cm. Two classes were distinguished by Desborough; one with low handle and one with high handle raised considerably above

the lip. The second class was represented by very few specimens so we shall leave it aside and refer to it only in cases of connexion with Cyprus.

The immediate predecessors of the Protogeometric low-handled variety were some sub-Mycenaean oinochoai from Kerameikos<sup>202</sup>. They were more or less globular, with low conical foot and poor modelling. Their decoration consisted of simple bands or sometimes lanquettes pendant from a ring, marking the junction of body and neck<sup>203</sup>.

The oinochoai of the Attic true Protogeometric period were divided by Desborough into two classes again; one with shoulder left free for decoration, the second with painted shoulder, (usually the whole vase is painted) which chronologically comes after the former. The decoration is richer than in the earlier period with sets of concentric semicircles, latticed lozenges and other linear motifs. Their shape tends from globular to ovoid. In the closing years of this phase a remarkable change in the shape of the oinochoe took place. The ovoid type was nearly discarded in favour of a broad-based one with a panel of decoration on the neck<sup>204</sup>. In the end of EGII the former type was finally eliminated while the latter was manufactured throughout the Geometric period.

In Cyprus in the CGI, the shape is quite common especially in the Black-Slip technique<sup>205</sup>, but there was no standard shape. There were pointed, squat, globular, ovoid, even biconical examples sometimes with narrow foot of medium height, or



broad, low conical one. The biconical body was a P.Wh.P. feature according to Mrs Pieridou<sup>206</sup> and she is right as the handle attached to it is of the variety that projects over the lip, even though it is not as high as on the sub-Mycenaeen specimens<sup>207</sup>.

The decoration of the Cypriot oinochoai is rectilinear; horizontal wiggly lines on the neck, latticed triangles on the shoulder and bands on the body. In CGIII most of them acquired two "eyes" on the lip and occasional "free field" decoration while in class IV we have small or big concentric circles.

As far as Attica is concerned, no connexions are shown with Cyprus between C.1050 - C.740 B.C. Neither does the "unusually bold lip" of the Asine oinochoe<sup>208</sup> show any connexions. The same applies for the rest of the Aegean except perhaps Dodecanese and Crete.

From Cos Serraglio tomb 10, the oinochoe with the prominent splaying foot<sup>209</sup> is comparable to Cypriot vases like SCEIV: 2, Figs VIII: 13, 17 which are class I and XIII: 17 which is class II. It is dated C.950 B.C. or a little afterwards. In the Argolid we find the same prominent foot on some lekythoi from Mycenae<sup>210</sup> which could have an influence on it. Anyhow, as long as it is not seen on oinochoai, it is reasonable to reserve judgment. The same prominent foot is also known from Miletus<sup>211</sup>, from two miniature oinochoai dated C.950 B.C., with decoration clearly influenced from Attica. From Crete we have some more specimens of the EPG period.

Fortetsa tomb VI: 69 is a miniature vase of 13.5 cm., with narrow neck, elementary trefoil-lip and globular body. The foot of course is narrow, prominent. Ayios Ioannis near Knossos offered us a miniature oinochoe similar to the one from Cos<sup>212</sup>. It is 9.8 cm. high and two more of the same shape were discovered in the tomb. It was dated tentatively in Brock's MPG and very probably comes C.900 L.C. Fortetsa tomb VIII, pl.38: 621 provides us with another oinochoe, close enough to the one from Ayios Ioannis. It has a slightly depressed body and its height is 13 cm. I very much hesitate to see any connexions of Cyprus with these regions on this evidence. The possibility of the high, narrow foot being a Cypriot influence exists of course but nevertheless we cannot regard it as a sure fact.

We stand on more solid ground when we claim another type of oinochoe, to be of Cypriot influence. It still has the same type of foot but the neck is slenderer and taller, topped by a top-heavy, uncouth big lip. Such oinochoai are Fortetsa pl. 29:500 of PGB according to Brock<sup>213</sup>, one from Milatos of Mature Geometric according to Coldstream<sup>214</sup>, a third one from Kourtais<sup>215</sup> of "Geometric" times according to Desborough<sup>216</sup>, etc. Brock noticed the similarities with Cyprus but he expressed the view that they were probably unrelated. All three vases seem to me to belong to the last quarter of the 9th and first quarter of the 8th centuries. In Cyprus, if we follow Gjerstad's classification, the oinochoe with such type of neck has not emerged earlier than late in CGIII<sup>217</sup> thus post-dating the

Cretan specimens. The shape, however, was at home on the Asiatic coast opposite Cyprus and if the Cypriot potters did not imitate it as early as the late 9th century then the shape of this extraordinary neck must be associated straight with the Levant. In any case, I think that most probably it was imitated on both regions c.800 B.C. but I am not inclined to accept that Crete preceded Cyprus in this adoption, as the Cypriot evidence is nearly identical with the Asiatic prototypes<sup>218</sup>. I would rather say that Cyprus was responsible for the Cretan model but as none of the Cypriot specimens is clearly earlier we must be satisfied with the idea of contemporary imitation on both districts, from a common Oriental prototype.

Before abandoning this early period I should like to mention another oinochoe from Knossos, discovered by Payne<sup>219</sup>. It measures only 11.8 cm. in height, and was characterised by him as Protogeometric. It need not be earlier than 925 B.C. It has prominent foot, depressed body, long neck and double-curved handle from shoulder to lip. Four reserved narrow bands on belly and latticed outlined triangle on the shoulder. Its probable connexions with Cyprus were observed by Miss J. du Plat Taylor and Lord William Taylour<sup>220</sup> (pl.4a). This is perhaps the case even though its neck cannot be matched easily in Cyprus.

Leaving Crete, for the time being, aside and turning further north, we encounter a remarkable oinochoe at Lefkandi. It is 35 cm. high supported on a pedestal. The body is a good



ovoid and the handle, with a connecting bar, rises considerably above the lip. It was characterised as an experimental piece because of its uniqueness and it was rightly dated in the first quarter of the 9th century B.C.<sup>221</sup>. The question which arises is whether this vase had any connexions with Cyprus. The publishers have noticed the double axes<sup>222</sup>, a motif current in Cyprus since the 11th century<sup>223</sup>. The pedestal of the oinochoe is paralleled at Marmariani but the Thessalian specimen comes later so the influence is from Lefkandi to Marmariani and not the other way round, something of course which has not passed unobserved by the publishers<sup>224</sup>. Here, I should like to refer to a Cypriot oinochoe, from Amathus tomb 14<sup>225</sup>. It is a small vase measuring only 17.5 cm. in height, in other words it is exactly half the size of the Lefkandi specimen. The reason I put this comparison forward is to notice the base of the Amathusian oinochoe which is no more a simple, high conical foot but a short pedestal. The two vases look contemporary but I do not exclude the possibility of a Cypriot influence which is reinforced by additional evidence<sup>226</sup> from the tomb, in which the oinochoe from Lefkandi was found.

Returning to Crete, the period which shows really intense connexions with Cyprus is the Orientalizing. According to Brock it begins at 735 B.C.<sup>227</sup> while Coldstream pushes it further downwards to 700 B.C.<sup>228</sup> From the very beginning of this period, we have an impact of Cypriot vases on Crete and a good share of this impact belongs to the oinochoai. From



Fortetsa Brock mentions 10 Cypriot imitations or prototypes<sup>229</sup> with some more having a spout and terminating in an animal's head. The type of Cypriot oinochoai imitated in Crete is the one with the big concentric circles on the sides and sets of small ones found usually symmetrically on the body. Even the twin circular handle of the Cypriot oinochoai is imitated on most Cretan ones. The majority of them belong to Late Orientalizing, therefore, they are beyond the scope of this paper. Examples, however, of very Early Orientalizing are not missing.

Here, a chronological problem arises. If we accept Brock's chronology for the beginning of Early Orientalizing in Crete, it is rather high for the Cypriot material discovered in it<sup>230</sup>. If type IV pottery made its appearance C.740 B.C., it was impossible for it to be exported immediately and imitated at once. After all it could well have emerged C.740 but a decade was needed to settle down firmly and oust Class III. It seems that the solution of the problem lies in lowering the beginning of the Cretan Orientalizing period rather than pushing upwards the starting point of class IV in Cyprus. At all events, Coldstream's chronology seems low; Dr Snodgrass, the last scholar who dealt with the problem assumes a date C.710 B.C. for the beginning of the Cretan Orientalizing<sup>231</sup> but he says: "It seems impossible to say more than that the Orientalizing period of Cretan pottery begins, not probably before 730 but hardly later than 700<sup>232</sup>." A fluctuation thus of thirty years for its beginning exists. In any case, and even if it starts at 700, class IV of Cyprus should emerge earlier in

order to have such a significant influence on it. I am rather inclined to accept Dr Snodgrass' statement but <sup>2</sup>rising a little his absolute date to 720 B.C.

The "prophylactic eye" which emerged in CGIII and was very popular in CAI<sup>233</sup> is present on the Cretan imitations<sup>234</sup>.

Among other places in Crete which show the imitation of type IV Cypriot oinochoai is Kavousi. A specimen from there has a high conical foot and remarkably broad neck<sup>235</sup>.

The sack-shaped jug which appeared in Cyprus in CGII<sup>236</sup> had its circular lip transformed into a trefoil in the periods III and IV, with the "prophylactic eye" very often applied on it. Some good imitations of this shape were discovered in Crete<sup>237</sup>. Needless to say, the connexions of these vessels with Cyprus have not escaped Brock. He called them "alabastron-aryballos" but here the term sack-shaped oinochoe is used instead of it. The bulk of the Cretan imitations belong to Early Orientalizing, when class IV was current in Cyprus, as all the imitations have a low centre of gravity tapering upwards, something unfamiliar to earlier stages when the more cylindrical body was predominant<sup>238</sup>.

Another type of Cretan trefoil-lipped oinochoe which merits our attention is one with ribs on the body<sup>239</sup>. Similar kind of vases occurred in Crete in the Bronze Age as Payne has shown<sup>240</sup> but I do not think he is right when he claims the late 9th (PGB) century ones to be a continuation of Minoan tradition, simply because there are not any links connecting

the two periods<sup>241</sup>, apart from a fragmentary early Protogeometric one from Fortetsa<sup>242</sup>. The example from Kavousi which he quotes is rather of undetermined date, as the pottery from there covers not only the sub-Minoan but comes down even to the Geometric period<sup>243</sup>. A neck-handled amphoriskos with ribs turned up from Dreros<sup>244</sup>. It is 17 cm. high and it belongs to the Geometric period. We are unable to date it more precisely. Of the ribbed oinochoai no one exceeds 13 cm. in height.

The existence of these few pieces of the 9th century and the single specimen of the last quarter of the 10th show nothing more than an influence from an external source. Such an external source, very possibly is Cyprus<sup>245</sup> where in CGI-II the Black-Slip technique with its ribbing is really thriving; one of its commonest shapes was the trefoil-lipped oinochoe<sup>246</sup>. The ribbing of the Cretan oinochoai was crude but we must bear in mind that they were imitations, and very poor imitations indeed, not of the Knossian workshops, but of the provincial ones of East Crete according to Payne<sup>247</sup>. The potters of these workshops employed two different methods to indicate the ribs; one with striations and one with applied ribs on the body of the vase.

The next prolific source of close connexions with Cyprus after mid-8th century is Rhodes. These connexions are clearly manifested among other vase shapes by the imitation of Cypriot type IV oinochoai. The copying is sometimes so accurate that it is with great effort that we can distinguish them from their



Cypriot prototypes<sup>248</sup>; it started in the second half of the 8th century thus justifying us fully for the beginning of type IV pottery in Cyprus C.740 B.C.

For a big front-piece of a Wh.P.IV oinochoe, Papapostolou writes that it belongs to the older burial layers of tomb LVIII from Ialysos<sup>249</sup>, dated by him "In the last years of the second half of the 8th century B.C."

Coldstream refers to some very good imitations<sup>250</sup>, according to him the earliest one is a Red-Slipped oinochoe dated C.750 B.C. It has an incised design of a "bisected hour-glass" regarded by him a probable potters' mark but it may well be the Cypriot motif of the bisected St. Andrews cross discussed in connexion with the skyphoi.

In Attica, at the beginning of the second half of the 8th century a new type of oinochoe appeared decorated with four sets of concentric circles, having one on each side. Soon the front set and the one below the handle were discarded, the place of the former being taken by vertical or horizontal wavy lines with various figures above them on the shoulder. Eventually, the wavy lines were also omitted and their space was used for figured decoration, till the time the latter claimed the whole vase for itself<sup>251</sup>. The innermost circle was usually occupied by a star-design or something similar. The characteristics of the shape were the cylindrical neck, out-turned abruptly at the top to form the trefoil lip, the low centre of gravity and the lack of effort to create a foot. Although





the system of decoration is Cypriot<sup>252</sup> no one of these vases show servile imitation apart from the forerunner of the series in the Lambros collection<sup>253</sup>, which depends to a large extent on Cypriot shape and decoration. On the rest, the decoration was adjusted to suit more or less Athenian tastes<sup>254</sup>.

From Delos a fragmentary sack-shaped oinochoe and a typical type IV oinochoe with small concentric circles were recovered<sup>255</sup>. Very probably they are Cypriot imports rather than imitations.

These are then the results we have gained. No connexions between Cyprus and the Aegean are revealed in oinochoai before 925 B.C. From Crete, at about this time, a certain type with long neck, prominent foot and depressed body was discovered by Payne which is rather in the Cypriot sphere of influence. In the end of the 9th century the oinochoe with the long, slender neck and uncouth, big lip found in Crete is probably an Oriental influence through Cyprus. A particular type is one with ribs imitated in Crete in the end of the 10th and the 9th century. At Lefkandi, soon after 900 we may also have Cypriot influence on the motifs and the foot of a "unique" oinochoe. In the second half of the 8th century the connexions are clear and intense. The borrowers this time being Crete, Delos, Dodecanese and Attica. The last-named was satisfied with the big sets of concentric circles; the first and second in addition to the usual shape of type IV oinochoe, got also the sack-shaped variety.

A reciprocal movement from Greece to Cyprus is missing apart from the design of hatched battlement on a Bichrome IV specimen in the G. Pierides' collection<sup>256</sup>, an Athenian LGII import<sup>257</sup> and another import from the Cyclades, now in New York.

### IMPORTS

I should like to make it clear that the recognition of imports is a very difficult task as I explained in the discussion of the shape. Here, I <sup>have</sup> accepted most <sup>often</sup> ~~times~~ the excavators' remarks but ~~there~~ where there was no agreement by other scholars, I put a question mark. I am also unable to clarify the situation, having no acquaintance whatsoever with the material and at the same time having no access to it.

### CYPRUS

1. A flat-bottomed Attic LGII oinochoe in the Pierides' collection. It comes probably from the vicinity of Amathus. It is 15 cm. high. Publication: BCH, 87 (1963) 361, Fig. 56.
2. Cycladic oinochoe from Kourion. Height 35.7 cm. C.740 B.C. Among many publications see GGA, 173-4, pl. 36:a.

### RHODES

Typical Cypriot type IV oinochoe with big intersecting sets of concentric circles and smaller ones applied rather

symmetrically on the body. Context: Rhodian LG. Publication CR III, 88 fig. 78.

CRETE

1. (?) Sack-shaped oinochoe, decorated with rings on the body and sets of concentric circles on the shoulder. Height 8.2 cm. Publication: Payne, BSA, 1927-8, 254:104, pl. VII:6. Cretan LG or EO.
2. (?) Similar, height to rim 9 cm. Publication: Fortetsa p.69: 754, pl. 49. Probably EO.
3. (?) Same as above. Probably LG. Height 14.5 cm. Publication: Fortetsa p.127: 1458, pl.109.
4. Black-on-Red II (IV) decorated with the typical big and small sets of concentric circles. Height 22 cm. LG or EO. Publication: C. Davaras, Two Geometric Tombs at Atsalenio near Knossos in BSA, 63 (1968), 138, A45, Pl.41:C.
5. (?) Type IV oinochoe decorated on both sides with concentric thick and thin bands. Below the neck sets of small concentric circles. "Prophylactic eyes" on the lip. Height 27 cm. Publication: Doro Levi in Annuario X-XII, 229, Fig. 261, Arkades tomb R.N.50.

## DELOS

Type IV? sack-shaped oinochoe. Fragmentary. Horizontal rings round body. Small sets of concentric circles on the shoulder. H. 14 cm. Publication: Delos XV, pl.L:B. Also Delos XVII, pl. LIX:C.

Black-on-Red IV? typical oinochoe decorated with big and small sets of concentric circles. Fragmentary. Publication: See above. It looks very much like CR III, 88, Fig. 78.

## 8. THE JUG

The shape of the jug as we know it from Attic late Protogeometric<sup>258</sup> with low conical foot, ovoid body, broad neck and linear decoration applied on the shoulder is unknown to Cyprus. A type of coarse jug roughly similar existed in the CG series<sup>259</sup> but I do not think there is any connexion.

Miss J. du Plat Taylor and Lord William Taylour refer to Cypriot "round-necked" jugs as showing connexions with Protogeometric forms but I very much doubt the validity of the case<sup>260</sup>.

Here, I should like to mention a special case which surely shows the relationship of Crete and Cyprus in the early 11th century. The late Prof. Dikaïos, during his excavations at Enkomi, came across a trefoil-lipped oinochoe<sup>261</sup> (pl.4b)



which had striking similarities to a jug from Karphi<sup>262</sup>. It had a narrow ring base, globular depressed body, concave neck, trefoil lip and handle from rim to shoulder. On the upper part of the body and the shoulder there was an engraved zig-zag design of double hatched lines and V-shaped pattern inserted in some of its triangles. The whole vase was covered with a light brown wash but most of it has flaked off. The similarities of the two vessels especially in decoration and technique led Dikaïos to attribute both to the same workshop<sup>263</sup>. This assumption seems correct even though there are minor discrepancies in shape. The mouth of the Enkomi vase is moulded in a trefoil-lip while the Karphi one has it rounded, the handle of the former is single while on the latter is double superimposed and stuck together, the foot also is not identical. Some more undecorated jugs were discovered at Karphi<sup>264</sup>. Their presence and the existence of the engraved hatching, something also not unfamiliar at Karphi, compelled Dikaïos to see the Enkomi specimen coming from there, and this is presumably the case.

The relationship of these two different vase forms, namely the Enkomi trefoil-lipped oinochoe and the Karphi round-lipped jug, helps to illustrate in the best way that influences between relatively different shapes could occur, if not frequently, at least from time to time.

The Enkomi oinochoe was discovered in the uppermost layer of room 13 of the megaron in "Area I", in other words it belonged to Dikaïos' latest period of level IIIC dated by him

between 1125/1100-1075 B.C.<sup>265</sup>. On the other hand the Karphi jug must come early in the ceramic series of that place because of its connexions with the tankards with the incised decoration and the elaborate ornaments<sup>266</sup>. If this is so, then it helps to illustrate that the material from Karphi can hardly, if at all antedate 1100 B.C.

#### 9. LEKYTHOS

The history of the shape can be easily traced back into Mycenaean times. Very probably it had the functions of the stirrup-jar which it ousted gradually<sup>267</sup>.

In the sub-Mycenaean period the vase was roughly made with globular body, very narrow neck, small lip, handle usually from shoulder to neck and foot of medium size. In the next period the foot became higher and conical, the body tended to be ovoid and the neck was topped by a funnel-shaped mouth. The decoration of the sub-Mycenaean period consisted of wiggly lines or hand-drawn semicircles on the shoulder and bands on the body. The Protogeometric one substituted the hand-drawn semicircles with compass-drawn ones, adding also latticed lozenges and bands on the neck with the body painted over except a group of reserved bands in many cases. Its height was between 14-20 cm. Before the beginning of the EG in Attica, it was out of circulation<sup>268</sup>.

The lekythos, as we know it in its Attic Protogeometric form is unknown in Cyprus. Some affinities, however, are shown between P.Wh.P and sub-Mycenaean lekythoi. Miss J. du Plat Taylor and Lord William Taylour pointed out such connexions<sup>269</sup> but the Cypriot specimens which they put forward for comparison with a sub-Mycenaean example from Kerameikos<sup>270</sup> may be separated by an interval of time of 150 years, so we cannot take account of it here<sup>271</sup>.

The evidence from Pigadhes may be disregarded on chronological grounds but this is not so when we come to examine the evidence from Kaloriziki. Tomb No.40 produced a lekythos with relatively high conical foot, rather biconical body, long neck with flaring lip and handle attached to it and the shoulder<sup>272</sup>. It measures 11.8 cm. in height; its decoration consists of bands and on the shoulder elaborate triangles. The handle is barred but the vase was unslipped. If we are to judge from its decoration, then this vase belongs to the P.Wh.P.<sup>273</sup> technique. In the same category we have some more lekythoi from Lapithos tomb 503<sup>274</sup> (pl.5a), whose material is mostly P.Wh.P. and Idalion "Ayios Georghios" tomb 2<sup>275</sup> (pl.5b). Tombs 25 and 26 of Kaloriziki gave us some more examples. Daniel who excavated them spoke of the closeness in shape of the lekythoi he discovered and those from the island of Salamis<sup>276</sup>. He was justified in his conclusions as the material from Salamis is perhaps a little earlier than the Cypriot one. As the shape has no clear predecessors in Cyprus I think an influence from Salamis<sup>277</sup> is the



most probable. These connexions are more clearly manifested on a lekythos illustrated by Myres in his Handbook of the Cesnola collection<sup>278</sup>. Gjerstad made a good comparison with Ker. I, taf.62 inv. 538 which is sub-Mycenaean<sup>279</sup>. On the shoulder of both we have the sets of concentric semicircles with solid core, a purely Attic motif. Gjerstad characterised the Cypriot lekythos as P.Wh.P. but as no context is known for it, it does not offer much from a chronological point of view but it certainly makes a good contribution in showing Attic influence on Cyprus during this stage which more or less can be confined in the second quarter of the 11th century.

A slight difficulty we have to overcome for these connexions is the fixing of the handle of the Cypriot specimens on the lip and not the neck as it is the usual practice in Attica. The difficulty, however, is by no means insurmountable because we have very few Attic specimens - some of the earliest indeed - which demonstrate the same practice<sup>280</sup>.

An additional evidence for connexions with Attica at this time is the airhole on the neck<sup>281</sup> of the two lekythoi from Kaloriziki tomb 25<sup>282</sup>.

A lekythos from Karphi<sup>283</sup> is a crude vessel with narrow conical foot, biconical body and handle from shoulder to lip. It was a rare shape at Karphi and probably it arrived from abroad. Jugs with broader necks were numerous<sup>284</sup> but not with narrow ones. Attica may be excluded from direct influence because of the rarity of lekythoi with handles from shoulder



to lip and the absence of the narrow conical foot, both fully at home in Cyprus. The latter feature of course may be due to Cretan tastes as we observe it on many other vase-shapes<sup>285</sup>.

A comparison of the Karphi lekythos could be made with RDAC 1965 pl. XIII: 2 (pl. 6a) which is late P.Wh.P. even though the curving of their handles is not exactly similar.

From Lapithos tomb 425 we have another lekythos<sup>286</sup> with very depressed biconical body and cross-hatched triangles on the shoulder. It is Wh.P.I. measuring 8.5 cm. in height. It belonged to the second burial layer of that tomb in which two pieces of Wh.P.II were discovered among the numerous class I specimens, ascribing the burial to the very beginning of CGII. The lekythos, at any rate, is a shape not encountered elsewhere in Cyprus in such a late stage so it must be one of the earliest vases of that burial coming soon after 1000 B.C. It seems that the lekythos was current in Cyprus only in the 11th century and hardly survived into the first quarter of the next one. In absolute terms we could circumscribe its life between 1100-975 B.C. The early withdrawal of this shape from the historical scene is explained by the existence of other slow pouring vessels.

After what we have discussed till now it is quite clear that there are connexions between Cyprus and Attica, but not after 1050 B.C. The evidence of Karphi is <sup>too</sup>very doubtful to be taken into serious consideration.

As regards later influences no connexions are shown between Cyprus and the Aegean till the 9th century when they had

been resumed through Cypriot initiative with the well-known neck-ridged lekythos which was an oriental loan to Cyprus.

In the Dodecanese, the neck-ridged lekythos made its influence felt at the very beginning of Middle Geometric, namely C.850 B.C. according to Coldstream<sup>287</sup>. In Cyprus, if we follow Gjerstad<sup>288</sup>, the neck-ridged lekythos was introduced from the Levant in CGIII, in other words not before 850 B.C. If this is so, then either the Dodecanesian vases imitate Syro-Palestinian prototypes, without the interference of Cyprus, or the influence is indeed from Cyprus and in such case the chronology of the Dodecanesian or the Cypriot series is not very accurate and must be re-adjusted. If, however, the influence was straight from Phoenicia, is it not much more natural to see this influence reaching first Cyprus, this huge melting pot of Oriental and Occidental ideas, and then spreading towards the Aegean? After all, was Cyprus not in contact with the Levantine coast before the establishment of the Phoenician colony at Kition in the second half of the 9th century<sup>289</sup>? No such evidence of course exists; in fact, usually the opposite happens. At all events, the most natural course of events is to see intense trade between Cyprus and Phoenicia, before the establishment of the colony of Kition, which was the apogee of these connexions. Naturally, these communications resulted in the adoption of Phoenician vase-forms, the most prominent of which was the neck-ridged lekythos. It seems that the first influence on Dodecanese is through Cyprus and we have more examples to show such connexions

in the entire 9th century. Now, if the upper limit of the Dodecanesian Middle Geometric cannot be lowered<sup>290</sup> then very probably the upper limit of CGIII must start earlier, perhaps not more than twenty five years. This of course means a beginning C.875 B.C. for the CGIII period.

The first Dodecanesian neck-ridged lekythoi show some pure imitations of their Cypriot counterparts in shape<sup>291</sup> though not in decoration and they come early in the MG series of the region. This being so, something like a generation was needed for the imitation and their entombment which means that the Cypriot version appeared C.875 B.C.

The Cypriot neck-ridged lekythos was found only as Black-on-Red I(III) at the beginning; later it was found also in other techniques. Its essential features were the flat base, the globular, globular-squat or sometimes even ovoid body, and neck topped with a funnel-shaped mouth. Needless to say, the ridge was always found on the neck and the handle was fixed on it.

In class IV, the base was usually raised or there was a base ring. The neck did not widen gradually above the handle-ridge but it did so abruptly near the rim which was even flattened. In class V, the body of the squat lekythos has changed into biconical<sup>292</sup>.

As we have already mentioned, the Dodecanesian potters tried to decorate their neck-ridged lekythoi in their customary manner<sup>293</sup> discarding the alien motifs. On some early examples

the ridge was rendered in an elementary manner or it was altogether omitted. This of course does not mean that the shape was entirely Hellenized and we have seen the opposite. The body of some of the Dodecanesian examples was rendered biconically<sup>294</sup> but I do not think that it has anything to do with the biconical type V lekythos from Cyprus.

Dodecanesian imitations were discovered on Thera<sup>295</sup> and Delos;<sup>296</sup> from the latter we have a big shoulder fragment.

The imitation of the neck-ridged lekythos continued in the Dodecanese and after 700, although a new type was created a little earlier based still on the Cypriot prototype. The ridge was discarded and the lip had the handle fixed on it while the neck was shortened. The new Hellenized version survived well into the Orientalizing period. Its decoration consisted of sets of concentric circles and groups of vertical wavy lines with up-turned lower terminals on the shoulder<sup>297</sup>. Sometimes the two motifs are joined together creating a "spaghetti like" ornament (298). This type of lekythos competed successfully with the distribution of the early Protocorinthian aryballos. Various examples of imitations of the Cypriot neck-ridged lekythos in the Dodecanese are listed by Johansen<sup>299</sup> Papapostolou<sup>300</sup> and Coldstream<sup>301</sup>. The last scholar refers to at least ten imported pieces of neck-ridged lekythoi from Cos of MG<sup>302</sup>.

Another type of lekythos imitated in Rhodes was the mushroom-topped flask with globular baggy body<sup>303</sup>. It arrived in Rhodes in the late 8th century and according to Coldstream



there was a slow change in its contours till the middle of the 7th century when it turned into a vase with nearly straight sides. This type of lekythos was in a red slip fabric and no attempts were made to Hellenize it, even by adding decoration. At any rate, the red slip was imitated but without great success; it was thicker and flakes off easily<sup>304</sup>.

Coldstream speaks of this mushroom-topped lekythos as Phoenician and nobody can deny that the shape derives from there. When he says, however, that there was an internal development in shape from the rounded form to a straight-sided one in the Dodecanese, I think that this was not the case. This progression was not an internal development, but again an external influence. The straighter and more carinated fashion existed in Cyprus in the Red Slip II(IV) technique. If we compare Coldstream's intermediate type<sup>305</sup> of early 7th century with SCEIV: 2, Fig. XXXVIII:8 or XLI:4 we understand that this type is also an influence from Cyprus<sup>306</sup>. It seems that the Rhodian potters made no attempt to change the shape but they were simply copying it mechanically.

If this is so, and the shape arrived in Rhodes via Cyprus<sup>307</sup> what then of the Phoenicians whom Coldstream sees as a handful of settlers on that island? Are they simply a vague phantom? Did they never establish themselves there, and did all the Phoenician imports arrive there via Cyprus?

We now know with certainty that the Phoenicians migrated to Kition on the southern coast of Cyprus in the second half

of the 9th century. They dominated the life of that city till 312 B.C. when Ptolemy destroyed their temples and killed their king, because of their favour towards his opponent Antigonos. After this disaster, the Phoenicians were not heard of any more; they left the island or they were assimilated by the Greek element of the city. Being in Cyprus, however, they visited, as did the rest of the Cypriots, the Aegean, and even though they were Phoenicians they were at the same time "Cypriots". When in the second half of the 8th century the Assyrians were devastating city after city in the Near East, the Cypriots took the initiative in trade and the Phoenicians of Cyprus must be credited with a good deal of this achievement. Tradition confirms a thalassocracy of the island between 742-709<sup>308</sup> which of course was due to the destruction of the Syro-Palestinian marine cities, and the incipient awakening of the Greek ones.

Most probably, therefore, the oriental shapes which influenced Greece, especially those of the second half of the 8th century and early 7th, came via Cyprus with Phoenician Cypriots as active participants in this transportation. Some of these Cypro-Phoenician traders acquainted already with the Greek way of life settled perhaps in Rhodes in small numbers carrying with them some purely Phoenician fabrics<sup>309</sup>, which we encounter today in our excavations.

Of influences on Rhodes after 750 Coldstream writes<sup>310</sup>: "... Several new forms suddenly enter the repertoire... These forms are not at all hellenized... Of the oriental originals,

very few actual imports are known and these are vastly outnumbered by the local imitations."

Apart from Dodecanese, Crete was the most prolific source of connexions with Cyprus after C.800 B.C. The first signs are exhibited in Brock's Mature Geometric period, roughly speaking in the first quarter of the 8th century, when we have Cretan imitations of Cypriot originals.

Considering the individual shapes of these lekythoi we are surprised by the numerous neck-ridged examples with globular or oval body and flat base. In the discussion of the Dodecanese, we have already mentioned Gjerstad's view about the chronolôgical order of these vases which was based mainly on the moulding of neck and lip<sup>311</sup>.

Fortetsa Nos 669, 694 are according to Brock Cypriot Black-on-Red I(III) imports but I am not sure about his assessment, as the execution of the decoration is not careful. They have, however, a feature which favours Brock's opinion and this is the neck-ridge which is a perfect one. Brock writes about it: "The Cretan potter produced the effect of the Cypriot ridge at or near handle level by merely reducing the diameter of the neck above this point<sup>312</sup>." How far this statement is correct I do not know but I do not think we must entirely exclude the possibility of having a perfect imitation. Two more lekythoi from Fortetsa<sup>313</sup> were regarded as Cypriot imports and our previous reservations hold good also for them.

The Khaniale-Tekke tombs present us with two imitations<sup>314</sup>



Their necks widen gently above the ridge, a sign of earliness. The same is seen on another lekythos from Knossos<sup>315</sup>. All three belong to the early 8th century the last one being perhaps the latest of the three. A bigger version of the same fabric is a lekythos from Fortetsa tomb P.<sup>316</sup>. It is 18 cm. high and its decoration consists of six lines round the belly, three sets of concentric circles on shoulder and a band where it should have the ridge. Its context was uncertain and Brock dated it tentatively in the Geometric period.

In Cyprus, the type whose imitations we have been discussing till now, gave way to a new lekythos with more or less ovoid body, flat raised base which tended to a really high foot in later stages. Big sets of concentric circles covered each side and smaller sets were applied between them, or some other linear motif. The older type of lekythos, however, was not absolutely out of production but it lost much ground to the new variety which comes rather late in Class III series<sup>317</sup>.

Fortetsa produced a lot of such vases. First in the series is No.453, pl.34. On this vase, the ridge was left out altogether. It was attributed by Brock to his Mature Geometric. A really big imitation is another vase from Atsalenio<sup>318</sup>. It is 26 cm. high; it has an ovoid body, low foot, neck-ridge, neck widening gently above it and a strap handle. Sets of concentric circles on the sides and five small sets vertically down the front. On both sides a zone with dots. Under the handle four more sets of small concentric circles. It was characterised by the excavator as Orientalizing. From Khaniale



Tekke<sup>319</sup> and Arkades<sup>320</sup> there come some more in the same tradition; also Fortetsa 829, pl.50 which is Late Geometric, 1048 and 1049 pl.71, which are Early Orientalizing, 1339, pl.97 of the same period but with spirals instead of the side circles. In the same tradition but with higher foot are Fortetsa 687, 688, 701, pl.45 (The first two are identical and only the first one is illustrated) 861, 862, 893, 894, 896, pl.59 etc.

A related type of lekythos is the one with the handle attached on the lip instead of on the neck while decoration and shape are like the previous one. We have examples from Atsalenio<sup>321</sup> and Fortetsa<sup>322</sup> ranging from Mature Geometric to Early Orientalizing and beyond.

A fourth form of lekythos without Cypriot counterparts but with certain Cypriot traces like the neck-ridge, the attachment of the handle on it and the funnel mouth, is known in Crete in the Geometric and Early Orientalizing. It is the so-called Praesos type of "oinochoe" which I classify here as lekythos. Its main features are the ovoid too slim body with or without conical foot or neck-ridge. It looks a Cretan creation based on some Cypriot ideas without slavish imitations. It is a Knossian innovation<sup>323</sup>, discovered mainly in that vicinity. Brock connected this Praesos-type lekythos with Fortetsa pl.29: 451<sup>324</sup>.

The baggy-shaped lekythos with the mushroom-like lip which we have seen in Dodecanese is also present in Crete

in plentiful copies varying from close imitations<sup>325</sup> to distant ones<sup>326</sup>. The characteristics of the latter category are the shorter neck and the less globular body in comparison to the first one. This series started in the Orientalizing period and the bulk is certainly Late Orientalizing.

From Tiryns we have a vase which, although of local manufacture, is rather influenced by the baggy-shaped lekythos with the mushroom-like lip. At any rate, it is considerably hellenized; its body is ovoid; it rests on a medium-size foot, it has long neck, a big flat flaring lip and handle from the shoulder to the upper part of the neck. Its body is banded and the neck bears an arrow pointing downwards. It is 13.5 cm. high and dates from the third quarter of the 8th century<sup>327</sup>.

We had the occasion to mention the island of Thera when talking about Dodecanese. Once again we return to it, because of some more connexions. Two lekythoi<sup>328</sup>, one with low foot, handle from shoulder to neck-ridge, funnel mouth, two groups of concentric circles on either side - the one inside the other - the second with sides decorated with concentric rings and higher foot (the mouth is missing) may be Cypriot imports or Cretan imitations. I wonder whether the fabric indicates local manufacture but it is impossible to judge from the photographs alone. The same can be said for another specimen<sup>329</sup>. A fourth vase is more like a bottle; its vertical walls, neck-ridge and flat lip point to Cyprus for influence<sup>330</sup>. Delos offered us another lekythos<sup>331</sup> very much like the Cretan Praesos

type. It was regarded by Coldstream as of Parian manufacture<sup>332</sup>, and dated in the Cycladic Late Geometric. A similar vase and of approximately the same date is one from Euboea<sup>333</sup> but the neck-ridge was omitted from it. To the same tradition belongs one more from LG Rhodes<sup>334</sup>.

These are all the cases which indicate influence from Cyprus on Crete and the rest of the Aegean world. In Crete, soon after the beginning of the 8th century we have the imitation of the neck-ridged lekythos. Four different forms are known to derive from Cyprus; a flat-based one with encircling rings on the body, a second one with raised base or low foot and big sets of concentric circles on the sides, a third type with handle attached on the lip instead of on the neck, and a fourth, the so-called Praesos-type with slim body and long neck. From the end perhaps of the first quarter of the 8th century we have also the imitation of the mushroom-topped lekythos. The same shape influences also the Argolid in the 3rd quarter of the 8th century. Finally, Thera, Delos and Euboea offered us some more 8th century examples of the neck-ridged varieties.

Bringing together the Aegean evidence we see that in the first half of the 11th century, very probably between 1075 - 1050 B.C. we have influence from Salamis and Kerameikos on Cyprus. This is demonstrated mainly from material found at Lapithos, Idalion and Kaloriziki. Karphi may show some influence from Cyprus because of the narrow conical foot and the fixing

of the handle on lip and shoulder on one specimen found there which is dated C. 1050; this influence however, is far from certain.

Soon after the middle <sup>period</sup> age of the 9th century the roles were reversed; the Aegean became the borrower, Cyprus the lender. First the Dodecanese, then in the 8th century Crete, Thera, Delos and Euboea all show influences from Cyprus in the various imitations of the neck-ridged lekythos. The first two districts copied also the mushroom-topped lekythos in the last quarter of the 8th century and afterwards. The same shape is also imitated in the Argolid. A special mention must be made here of the Rhodian aryballos which discarded the Cypriot neck-ridge; it was a very popular shape with wide distribution after its emergence C.725 B.C.

In the case of the lekythoi, no imports can be clearly distinguished when the Aegean became the borrower. In the earlier stages we do not have any imports so here we refer to the 9th and 8th century material. A reason which makes the identification of the Cypriot lekythoi difficult was the nearly perfect imitation of the prototypes in the Aegean, especially in the second half of the 8th century. According to Coldstream, when referring to the material from Crete, they matched or even surpassed the Cypriot prototypes in technical standards. The shape also is quite accurately imitated, so I prefer not to refer to imports as there is no clear distinction between copies and



prototypes<sup>335</sup>. Certainly, some of the lekythoi discovered in Crete and Rhodes are Cypriot but which they are, we cannot be sure. Brock<sup>336</sup> gave some numbers in his publication but we have already expressed our doubts about it.

#### 10. SKYPHOS ( HIGH AND LOW FOOTED)

This vase is perhaps the most frequent in Protogeometric contexts in Attica. Its main characteristic was the high conical foot, which was discarded, as really happened to all high-footed vases, at the end of the period and the transition to the next one when the shallow low-footed or flat-based skyphos gained in popularity and in the end eliminated its predecessor. The foot of the Protogeometric skyphos was conical not only outside but also inside; its lip was rather low, curving slightly outwards without clear distinction from the body. The origin of the skyphos can be traced back at least to the middle of the 13th century and its continuity in Attica was constant<sup>337</sup>.

According to their decoration, the Attic skyphoi are distinguished by Desborough into eight types<sup>338</sup>:

- I. The main characteristic is the body motif consisting of three sets of concentric circles.
- IIa. Two sets of concentric circles have a cross-hatched rectangle flanked by triglyphs between them.

- IIb. As IIa, but the rectangle with different motifs.
- III. On the body panels with various linear motifs.
- IVa. Narrow, horizontal row of zig-zag framed by two thin bands.
- IVb. As IVa, but the zig-zag is changed to something else.
- V. It is painted all over or almost all over without any decoration.
- VI. Body motif consists of cross-hatched diamonds or triangles occasionally divided into panels. Its lip is usually higher than on the other types. On all of them the interior is invariably painted with only one reserved band below the lip or sometimes a circle at the bottom.

In Cyprus, the shape of the skyphos was also very popular and it was bequeathed to the Iron Age by the latest Mycenaean. It is found either deep or relatively shallow with high, conical flaring foot or a low one. Its sides are convex, straight or mostly double curved. As is clear, we cannot distinguish any type according to the shape, as all these features are most often mixed together, and the decoration does not help much either. The usual decorative motifs in CGI are: vertical cross-hatched rectangles flanked by triglyphs, vertical rows of cross-hatched lozenges flanked in the same way, interlocking hatched triangles, solid double-axes or butterflies, as they are called by some scholars, a big lozenge divided into four smaller ones

and having on either side one of the motifs we have mentioned and also the St. Andrews cross. In the CGII period further designs emerged like the simple, vertical zig-zag flanked by lines or the small sets of concentric circles which very possibly made their appearance in the second half of the period, even though until recently it was held that they only emerged in CG III. Today it is certain that they appeared in CGIIB at the latest<sup>339</sup>. A common practice was to divide the body zone of the skyphos into panels bearing either latticed rectangles, lozenges, solid double axes, even swastikas or simple bands; one such band applied on the lip and one on the lower part of the body while the space between them was left blank. In the CGI period we have, rarely of course, panels of conventional trees and birds<sup>340</sup>.

The only Attic types of skyphoi which could have some affinities with Cyprus are the VIth and perhaps the IIIrd. The latter can find its ancestral motifs on the krater of Munich<sup>341</sup> which is Attic early Protogeometric. We are left only with type VI which according to Desborough was confined to the Dodecanese<sup>342</sup>. It is found in contexts of very late Protogeometric times<sup>343</sup>. Its linear decoration may be from Cyprus<sup>344</sup>. The two latticed opposed triangles on the skyphos of the Seragglio tomb<sup>345</sup> No.10, however, are not exactly paralleled in Cyprus. From Lapithos we have such a motif but in the free spaces between them a solid double-axe was inserted<sup>346</sup> (pl.6b). It is a doubtful case of connexions indeed.

Attica could claim the same motif with almost equal justification. The same design in outline is present on the shoulder of a fragmentary neck-handled amphora, (Ker. I, taf. 41, tomb 10, inv.596). The only disadvantage is that it is not found on a skyphos and that is why, I think, the motif of the Dodecanesian skyphos was either a Cypriot influence or an independent creation.

Before leaving the 11th - 10th centuries, I should like to refer to another Cypriot skyphos published by Mrs Pieridou in RDAC, 1964, pl. IX: 5-6, p.123 (pl.7a). It has one side decorated with three latticed lozenges divided into three panels by double vertical lines. The other side bears again three panels divided in the same way but the central one is not a lozenge any more but a latticed rectangle. It is in the Wh.P.I. technique. Has this vase any significance in the formation of the Attic type II skyphos<sup>3</sup> with the two sets of concentric circles flanking a central cross-hatched rectangle? The connection is doubtful of course but not altogether unfounded.

In Argos, a Protogeometric skyphos was discovered which could be classified as type VI<sup>348</sup>. It is painted all over except a window between the handles. Its decoration consists of two cross-hatched double-axes flanking a central rectangle in the same technique. The latter cannot help in identifying any connexions. The motif of the double-axe is a common one only in Cyprus but it is never found cross-hatched. It is always solid. In CGII it is sometimes dotted, and usually in outline<sup>349</sup>.



The nearest Cypriot parallel I can quote is RDAC 1965, pl.XII: 9, No.187, p.95. We have seen the motif of the solid double-axes at Lefkandi<sup>350</sup> in Late Protogeometric and we derived it from Cyprus. The same may be also true for Argos.

Another Argive Protogeometric skyphos from Hermioni bears between the handles three sets of threefold concentric circles<sup>351</sup>. At first sight these circles look very much like the Cypriot ones of CGII-III, but I think that the motif derives from Attica despite the fact that they are only threefold. It was dated in the first half of the 10th century.

On the foot of some Cypriot skyphoi there is a thin plastic ring. Miss J. du Plat Taylor and Lord William Taylour have already noticed this long ago<sup>352</sup> and correctly observed that the same thing is found on some Late Protogeometric or Early Geometric skyphoi from Zagora, Andros<sup>353</sup>. The Cypriot specimens on which the rib was applied, was the form No.411 ascribed by the two archaeologists to type III on the ground of the concentric circle decoration; we have seen, however, the latter appearing at least in CGIIB and most probably, this is the case here.

The ring of the Zagora specimens is also seen on a fragmentary skyphos, called krateriskos in the publication, from Thorikos in Attica<sup>354</sup>, but no comments on it are made in the text. What is its relation to the Zagora skyphoi I do not know, even though<sup>x</sup> very probably comes a little earlier in time. Approximately of the same date as the examples from

Zagora is a skyphos from Kamiros<sup>355</sup>. I do think, however, that this plastic rib in the Aegean must have a connexion with Cyprus. In the latter regions the stemmed kylix with ribs was known throughout the CGI-II periods<sup>356</sup> and it seems to me that the appliance of a rib on the foot of a skyphos is an evolution from here. But even on skyphoi it is not entirely unknown in this early stage, even though it is not so marked<sup>357</sup>. Most probably the idea comes from Cyprus, first to Attica and from there it is transferred to Andros. The Dodecanesian example may be an independent influence from Cyprus but it is not impossible that it was a secondary one through Attica.

The Thorikos type of "krateriskos" was, very possibly the prototype for the Thessalian small kraters of Marmariani and Kapakli<sup>358</sup>. The sets of concentric circles having in the centre a reserved cross with a solid rectangle at the junction of its limbs is exactly the same in both regions. The Thorikos specimen, even though late Protogeometric comes rather earlier than the Thessalian specimens, thus influencing them.

The well known type of skyphos with two sets of pendent concentric semi-circles was widely distributed in the Aegean and not rarely found in Cyprus and the Near East. Desborough dated these skyphoi between 900 B.C. and shortly after 750 B.C.<sup>359</sup> Boardman gave them a terminus post quem not exceeding 750 on the evidence of their absence from even the earliest Greek colonies of Italy and Sicily<sup>360</sup>. Coldstream attributed them the life of more than a century, and covering the time between

875? - 750 B.C. with few exceptions in Asia Minor, Al Mina and Cyprus going slightly lower than 750 B.C.<sup>361</sup>. Coming back to Boardman's view, we see that in discussing the material from Emporio, he expresses the view that in some places they might remain in productions for some years after 750 B.C. In Larisa and Troy in Asia Minor, they are found accompanied by slightly later Greek pottery<sup>362</sup>. Finally, Hanfmann gives them a life till 696 on the Tarsus evidence<sup>363</sup>. His view was challenged by Boardman and Coldstream so we do not take it into account here.

It seems that the recent excavations at Lefkandi<sup>364</sup> have shed more light on this particular type of skyphos and established more or less correctly its provenance and its duration of life. The former seems to be Euboea and the latter covers two whole centuries from 950-750 B.C. Two types were distinguished; one with high lip being popular down to early Geometric or perhaps somewhat later and a version with low lip confined most probably in Middle Geometric times.

In Cyprus, no imitations of the skyphos with pendent semi-circles were discovered<sup>365</sup> apart from Aegean importations, very probably from Euboea itself. In all cases, they were associated with either very late Cypriot type III pottery or early type IV, which means that the former pottery cannot go down to 700 B.C. and the latter cannot start from there. It is quite clear that this date must be pushed backwards, somewhere c. 740 B.C. Examples from four different excavations<sup>366</sup> were published in Cyprus and I do not think that all the cases were heirlooms.

From LG Attica we have a skyphos with two birds flanking



perpendicular central motif of two triangles touching with their apices a lozenge between them<sup>367</sup> (pl.7b). This latter motif is very Cypriot<sup>368</sup>, so we have another indication of the influence of Cyprus on Attica. A parallel to the Attic motif is seen on a Salaminian vase<sup>369</sup> on loop-supports of early type IV.

The Nekropolis of Salamis yielded two imitations of Aegean skyphoi or rather kotylai (NS II, tomb 23, p.49:19, p.50:28, pls CII and CCXXI). Their shape suggests a very late Geometric dating and they could well be imitations of Attic prototypes, especially No.28 (pl.8a) as Dr Karageorghis has said<sup>370</sup>. This latter vase with the careless hatched battlement found on it, is also seen on a sherd of a skyphos from Opferrine<sup>2</sup><sup>371</sup>, dated by Coldstream in his LGIIb<sup>372</sup> period. The same motif is known from Late Geometric Cos on trefoil-lipped oinochoai<sup>373</sup> but as long as it is found on Attic skyphoi, I do not think we are justified in looking on other vase-shapes to find influences. The Salaminian skyphoi or kotylai, very probably come soon after 700 B.C. They were associated with type IV pottery and a single piece of type V, which means that the burial was very late CAI. If our comparisons are correct, then there is little doubt that the end of CAI occurred c.675 B.C. No.19 is decorated with a pseudomeander between the handles. It is 7.5 cm. high. No.28 has the spaces between the battlement motif filled with hatched triangles. Its height is 11 cm.

Another imitation of Attic prototype comes from Styloi, tomb 2<sup>374</sup>. It is in the Middle Geometric tradition<sup>375</sup>. Its me-tepe decoration consists of a hatched meander. On the lip, there is a zig-zag line. Its diam. is 9.9 cm. The tomb in which the



skyphos was found contained three interments and two cultural layers could be distinguished. With the first layer pottery of type III and IV was associated, while with the second IV and V, subsequently the tomb was occupied, according to the excavators, in CAI early and CAII early. In other words they accept a whole century separating the two burial layers. This mixture of pottery of types III and IV or IV and V is not a rare phenomenon. In fact, it is quite common and it is rather an indication of the shortness of the type IV pottery period. In the case of the tomb in question, there is no re-use of it after a century of abandonment, but the interments took place at the time the deaths occurred in a family and indeed, the tomb was rather a family one. Perhaps not more than sixty years separated the first from the third burial. If we allow 30-40 years for the imitation and the entombment of the skyphos, we reach a date between 740-730 for the first interment, if, as we suppose sixty years have passed for the last one, then we reach a year between 680-670 for the final re-use of it.

With this first burial layer, a second imitation of an Aegean skyphos was discovered. It looks more East Greek LG even though an Argive<sup>376</sup> or Cycladic influence is not entirely out of question. It has groups of vertical lines between the handles and this is its sole decoration. Its diam. is 10.7 cm.<sup>377</sup>. This second skyphos even though it belongs to the first layer, very probably belongs to the second interment which comprised one burial layer with the first one.

The same decoration is shown by another skyphos from the

Nekropolis of Salamis<sup>378</sup>, tomb No.31, which contained pottery of types III-IV. This skyphos has convex body with vertical lip, three groups of vertical lines resting on a broad band below and a thinner one on the upper side; a third one runs on the rim (pl.8b).

It seems to me, that the simple decoration of this type of skyphos was a Cypriot innovation adopted in Euboea-Cyclades and that it then came back to Cyprus slightly changed. SCE IV: 2, Figs XVIII:5 and XII:7 which are CGIII, show groups of vertical bands having between them a St. Andrews cross with an additional perpendicular line, in the middle. Very probably, the Greek potters copied the vertical bands soon after 750 B.C. and added either horizontal or vertical wiggly lines between them, while it was not strange to leave the space completely blank. When the two elements, the Cypriot and the Euboean, met again at Al Mina, or other Emporia of the East or even in Cyprus itself, the Cypriot potter imitated to a certain extent the Greek skyphos of the late 8th century with its convex body and rather vertical lip and, in decoration, its groups of vertical lines without anything else. This is nowhere so explicit as in tomb No.31 of Salamis. From it, we have the skyphos No.87, (pl.8b) pl. LVIII which is very late type III. No.38 is no more purely Cypriot but an imitation of Aegean prototypes. This is manifested by the fixing of the handles and the effort to create a distinct lip. Even the baseless of No.38 speaks in favour of Aegean influence.<sup>379</sup>

In the same tradition belongs another skyphos from Sala-

mis tomb 105<sup>380</sup>. It is decorated with three groups of vertical wiggly lines but the shape is more Cypriot with a very slightly distinguished lip. Its perpendicular wiggly lines find good parallels in East Greece, even though they could well be imitations through Al-Mina<sup>381</sup>. The burials of the tomb were transitional from CAI to CAII.

A Bichrome III skyphos, belonging to the closing years of that phase<sup>382</sup>, was discovered in Amathus tomb 14. It has a relatively high foot, distinct lip and decoration consisting of isolated vertical wiggly lines, painted at regular intervals. The shape, especially the lip, speaks in favour of Aegean influence but we cannot be very precise as to where exactly it comes from.

From Ayia Irini, in Cyprus, we have an imitation of a Rhodian Late Geometric version of a skyphos<sup>383</sup> (pl.9a). It is painted all over apart from a window between the handles, decorated carelessly with wiggly lines, flanked by simple perpendicular ones. It is rather a kotyle than a skyphos with remarkable similarity to some vases from Exochi<sup>384</sup>. It is 8.3 cm. in height and 13.5 cm. in diam.

The same Greek region looks to be the source of another Bich. skyphos discovered at Meniko<sup>385</sup>. It is 6.5 cm. high and 10.9 cm. in diam. It was discovered in tomb No.4 which contained 4 specimens of type IV, 18 of type V and a coarse one. If this vase is really imitating a Rhodian prototype of the Geometric times, then it can hardly allow us a dating after

670 B.C. which means that type V pottery emerged either at this time or slightly earlier.

At Ayios Theodoros, a village north of Famagusta, a tomb was cleared and among its context a Late Geometric Euboean skyphos was recovered, along with a much bigger Cypriot one<sup>386</sup> measuring 16 cm. in height (pl.9b). On the latter, four groups of vertical lines flanked by bands, divide the space between the handles in three panels. The central one bears a lotus flower while the side ones had two opposed cross-hatched triangles with two outlined swollen projections facing the joined apices of the triangles. This decoration rests on bands which cover the middle part of the vase. Two more bands break the monotony of the unpainted lower half of it. Another band is found immediately above its low ring-foot which is painted. Painted is also its distinct lip. The decoration of this skyphos which is in Bich.IV technique is quite neatly drawn, with good discipline in the arrangement of the motifs. Its latticed "hour-glass" ornament might be of Dodecanesian influence<sup>387</sup>. As it was found alongside the Euboean skyphos, it must antedate 700 B.C.

The swollen solid projections are according to Boardman<sup>388</sup> a Cypriot innovation, used as filling ornaments for quatrefoils instead of the triangles. These swollen projections are seen on an EPC kotyle, where we have a white reserved hour-glass between them. Coldstream believes that the intended design was the latter<sup>389</sup>, but as the swollen projections are confined



in a white rectangle, I think that the primary purpose of the painter was not the reserved hour-glass but the swollen projections. If this is really so, then the skyphos from Ayios Theodoros comes a little before 720 B.C. and this is in perfect accordance with the evidence of the Cycladic skyphos found with it.

The Aegean world received from Cyprus the motif of the small compass-drawn circles. This design was stated long ago to be of Cypriot origin<sup>390</sup> even though an ultimate oriental influence is ~~the~~ most likely. It made its appearance in CGIIB and not CGIIIA. Mrs Pieridou writes of it<sup>391</sup> "... the group of concentric circles ... although drawn with the aid of a compass, are not accurately and symmetrically worked out as the circles on pottery of later periods." The motif in question became a Euboean speciality, applied on the lips of Late Geometric skyphoi<sup>392</sup>. In Crete, it was applied on kotylai of the same period<sup>393</sup>. The two regions got it perhaps independently but Euboea should be regarded as its conveyor all over the Aegean.

Another Cypriot motif can be seen on some East Greek and especially Samian Late Geometric skyphoi. It is the St. Andrews cross we have seen before, having a perpendicular line at the centre and flanked by more vertical lines. The motif, according to Boardman<sup>395</sup>, was Greek, copied in Cyprus, but I think that this statement should be reversed, as nowhere in Greece this design precedes the Cypriot one which is seen on skyphoi as early as CGIII<sup>395</sup>.

The simple St. Andrews cross, flanked again by vertical

lines and found on skyphoi<sup>396</sup> is best paralleled in Cyprus<sup>397</sup>. Nevertheless, it is not unknown in Greece but not on skyphoi, so the Late Geometric Samian example most probably derives its motif from Cyprus.

Summing up, we can say that there was a weak connexion between Cypriot and Aegean skyphoi till C.770 B.C. The strongest manifestation of it is an imported Late Protogeometric high-footed skyphos perhaps from Andros. An indication of a Cypriot influence on Attica<sup>a</sup> little before 900 B.C. is the rib found on the foot of an Attic Late Protogeometric skyphos, a practice spread from there to other districts. The Dodecanesian Late Protogeometric latticed opposed triangles may be a dubious case of Cypriot inspiration, and the same might be true for the contemporary Argive cross-hatched double-axes. We must say, however, that for the last two districts the evidence is very weak.

After C.770 B.C. there are many imported Aegean skyphoi in Cyprus. Prior to 750 B.C., Attica is by far the most important supplier, if not the only one. After this time the first place was taken by Euboea and in a way the Cyclades. During this period connexions are also observed with Dodecanese, East Greece, Crete and perhaps Argos.

## GREEK SKYPHOI IMPORTED TO CYPRUS

1. A high-footed skyphos from Andros? It is Cycladic Late Protogeometric with two sets of concentric circles and flaring foot. See Desborough V, A group of Vases from Amathus in JHS, 77 (1957) 212 ff.
2. A low-footed skyphos with two sets of concentric circles; very possibly Early Geometric; two more with pendant semi-circles are illustrated by Desborough. See PGP, 183, pl. 25:C.
3. Another skyphos with pendant semi-circles was acquired by the Fogg Museum. It is illustrated by Hanfmann. See Eastern Greek Wares at Tarsus, in the Aegean and the Near East. Studies presented to H. Goldman, 174, (N.31 for references) 179, fig. 16.
4. Nineteen MGII Attic skyphoi discovered in Dikaïos' "Royal" tomb. They are discussed by Coldstream; they belong to three types
  - (a) Hatched meander flanked by vertical bands. Stars fill the spaces by the handle.
  - (b) Two pairs of hatched meander-hooks flanked by vertical bands and a filling ornament of the first type.
  - (c) Horizontal lines having a row of chevrons in between them. From the same tomb, and discussed by Desborough, two skyphoi with two sets of intersecting pendant semi-circles were recovered.

All these skyphoi were connected with late type III pottery. See Dikaïos P., A "Royal" tomb at Salamis, Cyprus, in AA, 1963, 126 ff.

5. In the course of repairs in the above mentioned tomb, another Attic MGII skyphos with two pairs of hatched meander-hooks was discovered. See BCH, 89 (1965) 249, fig. 27.
6. Two skyphoi with pendent semicircles from Soloi connected with type IV pottery. See BCH, 85 (1961), 277, fig. 28a.
7. Two skyphoi, one with pendent semicircles, one with a wavy line, both rather Cycladic late Middle and Late Geometric respectively and connected with type IV pottery. See Karageorghis, Une tombe du Guerrier a Palaepaphos, in BCH, 87 (1963), 267, figs 2-3.
8. From the same tomb we have another Euboean skyphos with birds and small concentric circles on the lip. See Karageorghis V. - Kahil L., in Ant.K10, 133 ff.
9. Amathus tomb No.9 yielded two Euboean Late Geometric bird-skyphoi and an East Greek kotyle, very probably imitation of a Corinthian prototype. They were connected with pottery of type IV. See SCE II, pp. 55-64 Nos 76, 122 and 19 respectively, pl. XV, fifth row the fifth, sixth and seventh vases.
10. From Ayios Theodoros, a village north of Famagusta, a LG Euboean slipped skyphos was found connected with type IV pottery. See BCH, 95 (1971) 361, fig. 53. Also, The Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities (Cyprus) for the year 1970, No.58.
11. Due to a chance discovery another LG Euboean skyphos was found. Its decoration consisting of rosettes was badly worn. See BCH, 95 (1971) 341 fig. 11.



12. In the Hadziprodromou collection there is an early Late Geometric Euboean skyphos with a bird in the central panel. See BCH, 94 (1970) 233, fig. 87 a-b.

#### 11. KRATER

In Cyprus, the krater is something unknown in the CGI, II and III periods, unless we like to see a deep bowl of Wh.P.I. (SCE IV,2) Fig. II:2) as such, which is hardly justified. In the Aegean it is quite scarce, especially in the Protogeometric period<sup>398</sup>, when it differs considerably from its Geometric successors.

In the Geometric period two classes of pedestalled kraters are distinguished by Coldstream<sup>399</sup> in Attica; one with high, slightly concave stem, the other one with a lower and widely splaying pedestal. The first type had a rib below the lip and for decoration concentric circles round which the ornament was applied. The second category had a simple lip and the central design was dominated by a large meander. Its most curious characteristic was the "stirrup" handle, a double-loop handle with a third vertical, ribbon-like one, joining the former with the lip. This complicated handle made its appearance in Athens, at least, in MGI<sup>400</sup>.

In Cyprus, the first pedestalled kraters we have, are Attic MGII imports. One comes from a royal tomb at Salamis<sup>401</sup>, the

second was recovered from Amathus tomb 13. Both kraters were discussed in connexion with the chronology. They have the ribbed splaying stem, characteristic of Coldstream's type II Attic krater, the large meander dominating the decoration and the stirrup handles. The example from Amathus has a simple loop-handle from the central part of which the ribbon-like one springs up to meet the lip, while the Salaminian specimen has the double loop variety.

A third example of an altogether different variety but again an import from the Aegean is the well known Naxian krater in the Cesnola Collection, in New York<sup>402</sup>. It has a stemmed foot, ovoid body, low broad neck, four vertical strap handles on the shoulder and lid with a projection on the top with a small hydria crowning it. The decoration consists of zones, panels and metopes with figure drawings and linear motifs. It is a real work of art dated in the third quarter of the 8th century.

Naturally, these remarkable imports impressed the Cypriot potters and aroused in them envious feelings which led them to an effort of competition, which in turn led them to an attempt of imitation of these kraters.

The first pedestalled kraters in Cyprus belong to type IV. We can distinguish them in four types:

1. Relatively high pedestalled foot and double-loop handle, most often rendered as an animal's muzzle.

- 1b. Rather high foot but vertical or horizontal simple loop handles.
- 2. Like 1b but loop-handles from body to lip.
- 2b. High pedestalled foot and stirrup handle. The latter is according to Coldstream an Attic feature which spread from there all over the Aegean<sup>403</sup>.

Some further vases (SCE IV:2, Fig. XXXVI:7 or XLIII:2) with stirrup handle, very low base and distinct, rather narrow neck, we had better call amphorai as the only characteristic they bear of the Aegean krater is the handle.

To the first category we can attribute only one specimen SCE IV:2, Fig. XXXII:1.<sup>404</sup> On its one side it bears a panel comprising a row of conventionally rendered birds, a row of combs under the birds and finally a row of plates giving the impression that they hang on a wall. In this last one, there are also two swastika designs (pl.10a). A relatively close parallel in shape comes from Delos but may be Parian<sup>405</sup>. It is fragmentary and its profile is not so rounded as the Cypriot example. The foot also of the Parian example is not the same and the decoration is entirely different. In other words there is only a general similarity, not a detailed one. The globular body of the Cypriot krater is easier matched by a Boeotian example<sup>406</sup> but, again, no similarities in details are shown.

Another similar type of vase on a high conical foot<sup>407</sup>, is rather a derivation from jars on loop supports<sup>408</sup> than from the kraters as we can infer from a comparison of the relative specimens.

Class 1b is placed on a relatively high foot but it gives the impression rather of a globular cauldron with handles on the shoulder than a krater<sup>409</sup>. It shows no connexion with Greece, so it is not discussed here.

Class 2 has only one example to offer, SCE IV:2, Fig. XLIV:9. It is set on a high splaying pedestalled foot; the handles are attached on the lip and the greatest diameter of the body, which comes very high up. There is distinct neck and lip, but they are not much narrower than the greatest circumference of the body, as is the practice in Cyprus. In this respect, it is nearer to its Aegean prototypes. The body springs up from the foot at an angle of something like 45°. It is a Plain White IV vase.

Finally class 2b is the one closest to the Aegean examples but by no means identical. Generally speaking, the distinct shoulder, rather narrow neck and lip, all of them more or less strange characteristics to the Aegean specimens, make the Cypriot kraters look like amphorai. At all events, the stirrup handle and the high stem on which the vases rest compel us to consider them as kraters. Variations among this class exist in the moulding of the handle which is composed either as the Salaminian Attic import or its Amathusian counterpart. In the Aegean, the latter type comes after the former but the same cannot be held good for Cyprus because both imports, very probably the source of inspiration for the Cypriot potters, were approximately contemporary.



One of the earliest kraters of this class is one from the region of Marion in Western Cyprus<sup>410</sup> (pl.10b). It is 59.5 cm. high. Its globular body rests on a high, slightly concave, ribbed splaying foot. The vertical neck is lipless and the stirrup, strap handle with deep incisions is painted white. On both sides of the upper part of the body, there is a curious form of vertical meander, unparalleled in the Aegean. Its horizontal limbs are hatched, while its vertical ones bear chevrons pointing downwards. The nearest Aegean meanders are always with no more than two "bays"<sup>411</sup>. At all events, on the shoulder of the imported Cycladic krater from Kourion (GGP, pl.35), we have the motif of a meander with one "bay". It seems probable that the inspiring source for the motif of the krater of Marion could be this, so we may ascribe it to the last quarter of the 8th century, possibly the end rather than the beginning of this period. Underneath the meander of the Marion krater, there is a row of small white discs. The lower part of the belly bears four groups of triple bands, and the ribbed foot has five white rings. On the neck, there is a characteristic lotus flower, which looks more like an anthemium. The nearest design to it is the top tier of a vegetable-like ornament, as it is called by Johansen, from Corinth, which may belong to a time c.725 B.C.<sup>412</sup>. The krater belongs to the Bich. Red I(IV) type.

The next example is the only krater which comes from a scientifically known context<sup>413</sup> (pl.11a). The material

found with it was of type IV, apart from one piece of Pl.Wh. III. This evidence ascribes the tomb to the beginning or at least to the maturity of type IV but not beyond. According to the chronological system worked out here, this vase, very probably, cannot post-date 700 B.C. Dr. Karageorghis who was the excavator calls it an amphora<sup>414</sup>, not entirely unreasonably as we have explained. In any case, this krater has a high, concave, ribbed, splaying foot. The body is globular, the neck vertical with a flat, projecting lip and a flat stirrup handle imitating the Amathusian import. The decoration consists of bands on the lower part of the body; small concentric circles on white background divide the upper from the lower body. The handles are dotted but their sides have chevrons. The main decoration consists of a peculiar meander. On the neck, elegant lotus flowers were applied. The colour used for the decoration was the white. If we notice the handles carefully, we are rather sure that they imitate metal prototypes because of the small concentric circles at the junctions with the lip, which resemble very much the heads of nails. The krater is in the Bich. Red I(IV) technique. It is 57.5 cm. in height.

If we come to examine the provenance of the decoration we face real difficulties. The small concentric circles applied on a white background may be either native or Cretan<sup>415</sup>. The latter is perhaps most correct not because the concentric circle decoration was unknown to Cyprus, but the way it was applied in a row on the neck and especially middle and lower

belly is rather Cretan<sup>416</sup>. The meander, although basically an Aegean influence, does not specifically follow any prototype. The lotus flower is not like the usual Cypriot one. It has only three "segments" (petals) and a smaller bisected bud alternates with the open flowers. Dr. Karageorghis is right in seeing metallic prototypes for these vases but nevertheless either the metallic or the non-metallic type imitates, inaccurately, the Athenian stemmed krater. If Rhodes, where numerous examples turned up from the LG period<sup>417</sup>, played any role in influencing Cyprus, for the moment we have no tangible proof.

Cyprus Museum B.1915 (SCE IV:2, Fig.XXXII:6) belongs to the same category of vases, but not to the same workshop. It has a high, slightly tapering upwards foot and splaying at the lower end. Its stirrup handles are finished in an animal's muzzle but the outline of body and neck does not differ considerably from the previous 2B class. The decoration of the krater consists of bands on the foot, rings on the lower part of body, vertical lines between the handles, some of them hatched, and a really curious kind of hatched step-ornament. On the neck, a row of lotus flowers is painted, the blossomed flowers alternating with the buds<sup>418</sup>. It belongs to CAI.

We are left with only one krater<sup>419</sup> which again has the characteristic narrow vertical neck of an amphora and the stirrup handles and the pedestal - in this particular case a kind of half pedestal - of a krater. Its handle is of the variety with simple-loop and a strap joining it with the lip.

Its figure decoration, even though not very accurately executed is still quite attractive. The figure drawing, which is between the handles, is supported on a frieze of hatched meander, unmistakable sign of Aegean intrusion. At all events, it does not help us for an accurate dating but according to Dr. Karageorghis' comments, it comes rather late in the series.

From what we have said, it is clear that the stemmed Attic krater influenced Cyprus in the last quarter of the 8th century. Two of its main characteristics, namely the stem and the stirrup handles were taken by the Cypriot potter, but not its deep bowl-like body apart from the case of a Plain White IV example. Some Greek motifs like the meander and probably the arrangement of small concentric circles on white background, a Cretan innovation, were transferred also to Cyprus. Some of the kraters belong to the first quarter of the 7th century but nevertheless they constitute a single group with those of the late 8th century, so all of them were examined here.

#### IMPORTS

1. Dikaïos P., A "Royal" tomb at Salamis, Cyprus, in AA, 1963 126 ff. Attic MGII high-stemmed krater, discussed by Coldstream and having as main decoration a large hatched meander around which the rest of the decoration is placed.
2. SCE II, Amathus tomb 13, 79-83, pl. XIX:1 Attic MGII krater like the previous one but with a difference on the handles.
3. Cycladic LGI high-stemmed krater now in New York. H. 115 cm. Among other publications, GGP, pl. 35.
4. Sherds of a LGI? Cycladic krater from Kition. Published by



The predecessors of this vessel, which is used for drinking purposes, are to be found in Mycenaean times. In Attica, the sub-Mycenaean period is represented with a few specimens<sup>420</sup>. Their manufacture is not very careful and they are usually decorated with one or two bands, or wavy lines.

In Protogeometric times there is a distinct division between lip and body; also, the latter "comes in farther before the junction with the foot," which is now higher and conical. A zig-zag appears for the first time on the outside of the lip and it will remain in constant use throughout the Protogeometric period. The handles are usually barred. The highest diam. is always the circumference of the belly while the lip is either of the same size or slightly less<sup>421</sup>. Desborough distinguishes two types according to the decoration. The one bears the simple zig-zag on the lip, the other is panelled but no chronological deductions can be made from this.

In Cyprus, till recently no cups have turned up in the P.W.P. technique. At all events, now we have a fragmentary one from Palaepaphos, Lakkos tou Skarnou<sup>422</sup>. It rests on a high conical foot and two wavy lines decorate the surviving fragments. The prototype for this cup must be one like Enkomi III, pl. 79:24 (239), characterised by the excavator, the late Prof. Dikaios, as Myc. IIIC 1c; it also rests on a high foot but on the body it bears a single wavy line. Probably it does not post-date 1100 B.C.<sup>423</sup>

The CGIA cups have a fairly high foot with a cavity

underneath, double curved sides and a vertical handle from rim to lower part of body<sup>424</sup> (pl. 11b). The decoration consists of wavy lines and bands. The foot is either painted or its upper part is left free of decoration.

In CGII the high foot has disappeared<sup>425</sup> and we usually have a slightly raised base<sup>426</sup>. In CGIII the point of greatest circumference is invariably the lip<sup>427</sup> and we have either a raised or ring base. Nearly the same shape passes into type IV with minor changes<sup>428</sup>.

From this general description the first result we gain is that the Cypriot high-footed cup influenced Attica in the sub-Mycenaean phase<sup>429</sup>. The high foot is a major characteristic of Cypriot pottery series and it is not seen only on cups of the P.Wh.P. period. At all events, if we look more carefully on our vases, we can see that the sub-Mycenaean specimens have a prominent foot<sup>430</sup> but not so narrow as the Cypriot ones<sup>431</sup>; both regions are in the clay ground technique but I do not think this has any special significance as the bulk of the Cypriot pottery is in this technique. Another feature which merits our attention is the moulding of the lip. The P.Wh.P.-CGIA specimens have a double curved body as we have already stated. In other words the lip merges with the body without distinct junction, as it is the practice in sub-Mycenaean Athens<sup>432</sup>. Thus it is not unreasonable to claim the Attic high-footed-cup as a borrowing from Cyprus. The high foot seems to have been adopted for many of the Attic vases of the Protogeometric period.

In this latter region, the high-footed cup gave way to a flat based one, just a little before the transition from Protogeometric to Geometric. The footless cup gained popularity at once, at the expense of the high-footed one.

In Cyprus the same thing happened at the very beginning of CGII. The high-footed cup is generally discarded and the new type is introduced. The cup from Lapithos tomb 412, belongs to type II<sup>433</sup>. The rest of the finds from the same tomb were twelve vases of type I, two transitional I-II, one coarse ware and only one was clearly Wh.P.II, the cup in question. We are, thus, fairly certain that it belongs to the very beginning of CGIIA, in other words soon after 950 B.C. This cup has a very low base ring. The body starts smoothly and rather shallowly from it but then turns abruptly upwards, creating nearly vertical sides. The handle is attached on the rim and the lower part of the body before its curve towards the base. Exactly on this curve there is a band, the sole decoration of the cup. Its diam. is quite big measuring 16.8 cm. (fig. A3)

From what is said, and assuming the Cypriot chronology is right, it is probable that the Cypriot flat-based cup antedates the Attic one and it may have an influence on it unless the Attic potter discarded the foot deliberately, finding it impracticable. Differences between the two regions exist. If we take for example the cup 583 from Kerameikos<sup>434</sup> which is one of the earliest specimens, we notice that there is no base at all, that its body rises more steeply, that the greatest



circumference is on the belly and that the lip is a distinct unit. It is also painted all over apart from the handle, which is barred. There are, also, two reserved bands under the rim inside and outside.

We cannot deny that differences in details occur but we must not forget that the Athenian potter was working in another tradition which perhaps could not accept a new shape without giving to it its own stamp. The Athenian tradition wanted the lip of the cup a distinct unit but not so the Cypriot. In Cyprus the clay ground technique is predominant while the reverse is true for Athens. As for the very low ring base of the Cypriot specimen, this is not an altogether unknown feature in the Attic series<sup>435</sup>. Even the lip of some Attic cups is to be found perpendicular from time to time instead of slanting sharply outwards.

In the last quarter of the 8th century or a little earlier a new variety of cup made its appearance in Attica. It is the so-called "Phaleron cup" owing its name to the numerous specimens found in the Phaleron cemetery<sup>436</sup>. It has double curved or straight sides with the greatest diam. set high up on the lip. If we compare Ker. V1, pl.107, inv. 1333 or 319 to SCE IV:2 Fig. XVIII: 12, 13 of type III or Fig. XXVIII:13 of type IV, we are justified in regarding the Cypriot specimens as the ancestors of the shape.

In Crete we have a kind of flat-based cup with a very narrow base; Brock is right in seeing it as a reminiscent of



a Mycenaean kylix<sup>437</sup>. A similar one turned up from Ayios Ioannis near Knossos<sup>438</sup>. Both are, perhaps, very Early Protogeometric. From the Late Protogeometric times of this island we have a whole series of flat based<sup>439</sup> cups. The Middle Protogeometric period is represented by three specimens from tomb No. VIII from Ayios Ioannis<sup>440</sup>. Number 12 must be the earliest, second in the series must come No. 11 while No. 13 is the latest. Now, could the cup derived from the Mycenaean kylix, inspire the flat-based one of Middle and Late Protogeometric? The answer is yes. If we examine tomb VIII:12 from Ayios Ioannis and V:16 from the same cemetery we see that the former is slightly more advanced than the latter, an indication that V:16 continued to be produced unchanged for several years till perhaps the end of Protogeometric.

Another question which arises now is whether it was possible for cup 622, pl. 38 from Fortetsa or V:16 from Ayios Ioannis to inspire the flat-based Attic cups. The answer to this question, I think, is no. The impression one gets looking at them is of a shallow bowl on which a handle is attached and not a cup created for its own sake. As for the Late Protogeometric period and afterwards, some Attic traces can be detected in Crete like the distinct everted lip of Ayios Ioannis I:45.

The evidence from Karphi with its low base need not be earlier than 900 B.C. if Miss Seiradaki is right in parallelizing the painting of her "cup 1" to No. 291 from Fortetsa<sup>441</sup>. Karphi, however, may have come to an end much earlier, perhaps

in the late 11th century, so the cup from there may also date from that time.

From Meniko, near Nicosia, (Christodoulou, RDAC, 1968, p.66:37 pl. 15:6) we have a cup with its handle projecting above the lip, as some Cretan cups do. If we compare this cup to one from Fortetsa, let us say No. 434 or 468 on pl. 35, we can see that the handle of the Cypriot specimen is attached below the lip after it curves downwards to meet the body of the cup. On the contrary, the Cretan ones have it fixed on and inside the lip. This similarity looks rather a fortuitous coincidence and unless more cups of this type turn up in Cyprus, we cannot speak of influence.

Summing up, we can say that the Cypriot high-footed cup of P.Wh.P.-CGI influenced Athens in the creation of a similar cup. A probable second movement at the beginning of the fourth quarter of the 10th century took also there the flat-based cup, while a third movement in the second half of the 8th century introduced to Attica the "Phaleron" cup. In Crete a kind of cup existed in the Protogeometric period from which we have the evolution of the real cup, at the end of the same period. At that time the Attic influence was felt, especially in the moulding of the lip. In the Geometric period the rest of the Aegean was influenced through Attica, as it was influenced in the Protogeometric times for the high-footed cup.

## IMPORTS

Cyprus: A high-footed cup, probably Cycladic but in the Attic Late Protogeometric tradition with a zig-zag on the lip. Context: Transitional CGII-III. Height 9.9 cm. Publication: Desborough, a group of vases from Amathus, in JHS, 77 (1957), 212 ff. fig. 4a, b.

### 13. KANTHAROS

The shape of this vase as we know it from late Protogeometric Attica is unknown to Cyprus. In the former district the kantharos was merely a high-footed cup<sup>443</sup> with two vertical handles one opposite each other.

Cyprus, Lapithos tomb 603<sup>444</sup> of Wh.P.I. is not a dissimilar shape but I do not think it has anything to do with Attica or any other part of the Aegean. There is no unit of lip on it as is the practice in Attica and its narrow, very low ring foot which looks like a raised base, speaks against any connexions with the Aegean.

At a much later epoch we have an Argive kantharos imported at Ktima<sup>445</sup>, Cyprus. It is of a well known type with big vertical handles protruding well from the body but not rising at all above the lip. It is only slipped without any decoration and probably it cannot pre-date 700 B.C. This kantharos, with its chronological implications, is discussed in the chronological framework.

A frequent shape in the Mycenaean repertoire of the LHIII period was the kylix. In the final phase of LHIII C1 the stem became swollen while in IIIC2 it acquired ribs<sup>446</sup>.

In Greece the district which produced the most numerous kylikes was Kephallenia at site Lakkithra<sup>447</sup>. The area of origin of the type is probably the Argolid. They have funnel-shaped bodies, the stem sometimes swollen<sup>448</sup> and there are examples with ribbed foot. The handles never protrude over the rim. How long the LHIIIC11 period of Kephallenia lasted we do not know but from the neighbouring Ithaka we have indications that it lingered for a long time<sup>449</sup>. The kylikes from the latter island are deep mostly with well defined sharp ribs.<sup>450</sup> From Hexalophos in Thessaly we have deep, ribbed kylikes<sup>451</sup> which may date from c.1100 B.C.<sup>452</sup> or perhaps slightly earlier.

In Cyprus the shape was fairly common in the LCIIIB phase and the early CGI. The type with ribbed stem was the more fashionable. The body was deep and there was no rule for the ratio of the height of the stem and the size of the "bowl". This is best illustrated in Myres' tomb from Kition<sup>453</sup> where six kylikes were discovered. Generally, the Cypriot kylikes are heavier and usually clumsier<sup>454</sup> than the ribbed Asine specimens<sup>455</sup>.

The Kephallenian material is rather earlier than the Cypriot. The Ithakan from Polis<sup>456</sup> may be contemporary with the P.Wh.P. - Wh.P.I. material from Cyprus but despite their similarities I do not think they have any connexion<sup>457</sup>. The



same is rather true for Hexalophos. It seems that the shape with ribbed stem was spread from a common source, presumably the Argolid<sup>458</sup> and even though the sharp ribs are common in both Cyprus, Ithaka and Hexalophos the handles on the kylikes of the last two districts are bigger and the ribs themselves are usually separated by broader intervals.

Sub-Minoan Crete is another source of kylikes. From Karphi we have some specimens in fine clay<sup>459</sup>. They have swollen stems and deep bodies, the upper part of which turn sharply upwards forming thus a kind of vertical lip. Sometimes a ridge separates this lip from the rest of the body. The foot is either flat or slightly conical inside and outside. These examples from Karphi must belong to the early part of the series of the kylikes with swollen stems because of examples with nearly straight stem from the same site<sup>460</sup>. Most probably they belong to about or soon after 1100 B.C.

Similar kylikes are one from Dreros<sup>461</sup> and two from Vrokastro<sup>462</sup>. All three have bulging stems and deep bodies. The two from Vrokastro are identical in shape and decoration, certainly the vases of the same hand. We can possibly attribute them to the second quarter of the 11th century<sup>463</sup>. They show a tendency towards the Cypriot types<sup>464</sup> as it is indeed true for the other Cretan ones from Karphi and Dreros. This connexion is manifested if we compare them with No.13 of Myres' tomb which despite its clumsiness is close enough to them. The dating of this tomb is controversial. It seems, however,

that it cannot antedate 1075 and it cannot be lowered below 1025. I think that its absolute dating falls immediately after 1050 while some vases were manufactured perhaps a generation earlier. The lower limit proposed here is based on a comparison of the kylix No.11, which was attributed by Myres to the beginning of the Iron Age, with Marion tomb 65, SCEII p.376 No.4, pl.XC:9 which is early type I. Both have good articulation and a single wiggly line on the body between the handles.

Contemporary with Myres' Nos 10 and 13, which are perhaps, the earliest in the tomb thus dated C.1075, is McFadden's kylix<sup>465</sup> (pl.12a). Its good shaping may even mean that it is a bit later. It is decorated with solid double-axes between the handles. Still later, perhaps C.1050 B.C. is the kylix from Kaloriziki tomb 25:54<sup>466</sup>. It bears three ribs on the stem and has a deep body decorated with vertical bands of hatched, tangential, interlocking triangles on the one side, while the other one bears a wheel pattern and a latticed lozenge with wiggly appendages at the corners.

From what we have said it is almost certain that we have influence from Crete on Cyprus. The Cretan material antedates the Cypriot by at least 25 years and the influence is demonstrated by Myres' kylix No.13 with the swollen stem. But apart from this sole example which shows close relationship with Crete the rest of the Cypriot material is of the ribbed-stem variety a type unknown in Crete at least as far as we know today. This leads us to accept a direct influence from

the mainland, possibly the Argolid. This is clearly manifested by a ribbed-stem kylix from Kition of Myc.<sup>IIIC2</sup><sup>467</sup>. Its decoration consists of bands and two wavy lines between the two small handles. Very possibly this type was first to be introduced in Cyprus<sup>468</sup> and the swollen-stem variety followed close at hand. The former, however, immediately ousted the latter acquiring its deep body and heavy appearance.

The near contemporaneity of the two types is illustrated at the sanctuary of the bicephalic monster at Enkomi, where we have three fragmentary examples of the swollen-stem variety - one is indeed nearly straight - a second example has only one ring a little below the bowl<sup>469</sup> and a third one has two blunt rings on the stem. They probably date from the early 11th century B.C.

In Crete, apart from the examples we mentioned, no other specimens are known and it seems that the shape died out fairly soon in the sub-Minoan period as it did also in the rest of the Aegean in the 11th century. On the contrary, in Cyprus they were still manufactured in CGII<sup>470</sup>.

The EG period of Attica furnishes the series with a miniature example<sup>471</sup> 8.6 cm. high. Its stem is ribbed and the two handles are vertical from body to rim. From Kerameikos<sup>472</sup> we have another example measuring 16.5 cm. and coming shortly after the first example in time. Deep, rounded body and ribbed foot are clear. As the shape is unknown in the Aegean C.900 B.C., I regard these Attic specimens of the first half of the 9th

century as Cypriot influence<sup>473</sup> although their decoration is in the appropriate Attic manner of that time. Very probably, these Attic kylikes with the ribbed stem gave rise to the pedestal kraters with ribbed foot in MG Attica shortly afterwards.

In brief, the kylix was introduced to Cyprus from the Aegean in the first half of the 11th century. First to arrive was the ribbed-stem variety from the Argolid and soon afterwards the swollen-stem type from Crete followed. The latter was never popular, vanishing very quickly but not before giving some traits to the former. In the first half of the 9th century Attica borrowed the kylix from Cyprus. This adopted shape inspired the ribbed pedestalled kraters of Middle Geometric<sup>474</sup>.

#### 15. STIRRUP-VASE

For the origin of the shape no comment is needed. In some districts, like Cyprus, it dies out soon after the beginning of the Iron Age<sup>475</sup> while in others, like Crete, it has a much longer life. In Attica it is found in the early Protogeometric period<sup>476</sup> but not beyond.

Gjerstad has noticed<sup>477</sup> that shape and decoration of some sub-Minoan stirrup-vases were very near to those of CGI. Desborough has pointed out that the influence was from Cyprus to Crete<sup>478</sup>. He has based his conclusions on decorative motifs; he mentions the semicircle within a triangle, usually found on



the shoulder of the stirrup-vases, although now he favours the view that the influence was from Crete towards Cyprus<sup>479</sup>. He, further on, quotes the "elaborate triangle" which accompanies the previous motif<sup>480</sup>.

The real CGI examples, which do not seem to survive even into CGIB, are small vessels less than 15 cm. high. One from Marion<sup>481</sup> has the conical projection on the false mouth, a sign of lateness in the series of the L. Bronze Age. This feature compels us to ascribe it in the very early Iron Age. On the shoulder, it bears cross-hatched triangles and the body is banded. The same motifs are the usual decoration of the Cypriot specimens. The conical projection is not always present.

The stirrup-vases from Athens show no connexions with Cyprus while the one from Assarlik<sup>482</sup>, with its concentric circle with solid core decoration, is rather in the Attic tradition than ~~any~~<sup>thing</sup> else.

#### 16. TRIPOD-STANDS

The discussion of this shape will be mainly confined to clay examples, even though the metal ones of the Late Bronze will not be dismissed altogether, as some of them were discovered in Iron Age contexts. The country of their origin was sought long ago but still, today we cannot say with real

certainty where they come from. In a thorough examination of the existing specimens<sup>483</sup> Catling reached the conclusion that they were manufactured in Cyprus and that both cast and rod tripods were almost contemporary, the latter preceding slightly the former<sup>484</sup>. According to him, they were the fusion of pre-existing small metal tripods of the 14th century onwards, Aegean and Near Eastern ideas melting together around 1200 B.C. somewhere in Cyprus. This explanation seems quite plausible as tripods and stands bear features of both districts.

In the matter of chronology, however, there seems to be room for pushing them somehow slightly upwards. Admittedly, on stratigraphic evidence, no tripod or stand was discovered in a purely 13th century context apart from some doubtful cases like the one from Ras Shamra and the crude, primitive example from Atchana<sup>485</sup> which according to Woolley cannot post-date 1370 B.C. Its obvious relationship to the Cypriot stands was pointed out by Catling who also expressed doubts about its dating<sup>486</sup>, preferring a much lower chronology for it, in order to accord with the rest of the material. I do not know if such a lowering of its chronology can be based on archaeological data but certainly its crudeness could easily allow several years to elapse before the high technical standards of the elaborate Cypriot tripods were reached.

Leaving aside the uncertain chronology of these and returning to the fusion of Mycenaean-Oriental ideas, it is likely that we should accept the last quarter of the 13th century

as the more suitable time for such a fusion. The Mycenaeans after destructions of their centres, moved to Cyprus and somewhat later, due perhaps to similar reasons, some Orientals<sup>487</sup> made their way there. If this is the time of their manufacture, in absolute terms it could be something between 1220-1195 B.C., Cyprus being probably destroyed by the Sea People in the latter year. Whether during this destruction the skill of manufacturing tripods was also destroyed, we are not sure even though I am inclined to see it as a real fact. If we look at Catling's chronological table of the tripods and stands<sup>488</sup> we see that they are much more frequent in 12th century contexts, which means that they were in circulation, waning remarkably in the 11th and the centuries afterwards. The fact that they are so scarce in the Iron Age tombs of Cyprus, which are rich in pottery, speaks in favour of a much earlier manufacture.

Against this, one could say that in Greece we have examples of the 10th, 9th and 8th centuries<sup>489</sup>. How could we explain this? It seems that the reasons were two; firstly the great devotion to the deceased which could allow his family to part with a tripod, something happening perhaps very seldom; and secondly, and most probably, the emergence of something which could be used for the same functions. Such a vessel was very possibly the tripod-cauldron which perhaps re-emerged c.900 B.C.<sup>490</sup>.

The twenty five years we allowed for the manufacture of tripods and stands may seem very short but I think that if

we have to extend it, the extension must be stretched into the 13th century and not the 12th. If they were made in the latter century, when did their production cease and why? We know that after the Sea Peoples' disaster the next natural calamity which caused considerable destruction in Cyprus was an earthquake C.1075<sup>491</sup> but I do not think it could have had the effect of eliminating the skill of the tripod makers. Again, the possibility that they continued well into the 12th century, waning gradually, seems rather unnatural, unless the people became so poor and they could not afford them, thus forcing the makers to abandon their project.

If, as Catling assumed and we agreed, the tripods were products of Aegean and Oriental ideas, this fusion not only occurred in the last quarter of the 13th century but it was already thriving earlier in that century if we are to judge from other archaeological finds, like the renowned rhyton from Kition<sup>492</sup>. A more certain reason for assuming earlier manufacture is Dikaïos' statement that copper smelting in Enkomi reached its peak in the 13th century<sup>493</sup>; even here again we do not tread on very sound ground, as Bass<sup>494</sup> has observed, because the smelting could either have ceased entirely in the 12th century or be moved somewhere else. In any case, we base our conclusion on the present evidence which speaks of ferment in metal working in the 13th century and not later, and we tentatively propose a date C.1250 for the beginning of the manufacture of metal tripods. The Cape Gelidonya wreck with its



tripods' fragments dated C.1200<sup>495</sup> permits at least twenty years of earlier manufacture with a probability of pushing it even further to the middle of the 13th century. It must be stressed, however, once again, that the year 1250 is more conjectural than factual, based on assumptions rather than archaeological finds, save the lack of rich copper-smelting in Enkomi and the Cape Gelidonya wreck whose dating has a fluctuation of fifty years.

To Catling's detailed examination we have nothing to add except one more tripod acquired recently by the Cyprus Museum<sup>496</sup>. It is a miniature example 14 cm. high with a striking similarity to one in Florence<sup>497</sup>. Both lack the volutes on the top of the feet but they have "spacers" between them and the ring. At the same time both lack the inner struts and their ring is composed of two horizontal rods having between them an openwork wavy band. Unfortunately this new tripod adds nothing to the solution of the problems of chronology as nothing is known about its context. It is a little bigger than the Florence example which is only 11.5 cm. high.

Some of the bronze tripods were discovered, as we have said in Iron Age contexts in Greece, the one found in a LG tomb at Pnyx in Athens<sup>498</sup> being notoriously late. All of them are probably heirlooms, brought to Greece at a much earlier date, probably around 1200 B.C. as the story of the Cape Gelidonya wreck tells<sup>499</sup>. Those found in Crete were regarded as of probable Cretan manufacture by Benson<sup>500</sup> who follows Gjerstad on

this point. At all events, their similarities with those discovered in Cyprus are much more than their discrepancies, meaning perhaps nothing more than a different Cypriot workshop and not Cretan workmanship.

Before leaving the bronze tripods we must mention that no cast ones were discovered in Greece, this being an exclusively Cypriot variety with one exception discovered at Ugarit.

The rod tripods inspired imitations in clay. In Cyprus we have two examples in the Museum of Nicosia, but neither comes from a known context<sup>501</sup>. Cyprus Museum B.1919 is 26.2 cm. high. Its top diam. is 16 cm. The height of the ring is 10 cm. and this makes it a really uncouth shape. Volutes, inner struts, rings and pendants are omitted. The ring is decorated with a row of latticed lozenges and a zig-zag above it, recalling a motif of the metal tripods. The second example is a miniature one 9.4 cm. high and 7.6 cm. in diam. having rings between the legs. Both stands were rather rightly dated by Catling in CGI.

Imitations of rod tripods in clay turned up also from Attica but none of them is earlier than EG times<sup>502</sup>. These Attic imitations have nothing to do with the Cypriot ones. First of all they are separated by an interval of time of perhaps a hundred years and secondly the technique of their manufacture is dissimilar, the Attic ones being of much higher quality. Usually they have a concave ring supported on three rectangular legs bending outwards and giving a broader base than the diameter of the ring for greater stability. They have

also some kind of "outer" struts in the empty spaces between the legs. A clay tripod like these Attic ones was discovered at Praesos<sup>503</sup>, an unmistakable sign of communications with Attica. On its legs traces of white meander pattern are discernible. Since Catling's publication two more have been discovered in Attica<sup>504</sup> without anything particular <sup>about</sup> on them.

Coming now to consider Catling's "type II"<sup>505</sup> of Cypriot clay tripods we find difficulties in accepting his view that they were made in a stylised fashion after the metallic cast tripods, because of the lack of close similarities. Their ring is usually concave and the feet, even though they mostly taper downwards, are never pointed. Very rarely the reverse method can be seen. Numerous specimens turned up in various districts in Cyprus; some come from scientific contexts and belong to CGI and II<sup>506</sup>. In the former period they are carefully executed both in shape and decoration. I should like to regard this shape as descending from Mycenaean clay tripods if the interval of time did not prevent me from doing so. The first dated Mycenaean example goes back to LHIIIA2 or IIIB<sup>507</sup>. It was discovered at Zygouries. Two more examples of late IIIB date were discovered at Thebes<sup>508</sup> and Mycenae.<sup>509</sup>

If we compare these Cypriot clay tripods with the Mycenaean ones, we are surprised at their similarities<sup>510</sup>; the interval of time however, which is nearly two centuries, speaks against a derivation from the latter so we have to regard the Cypriot material as an independent creation unless the missing links are discovered. Nowhere in the Aegean is

this type of Cypriot tripod encountered.

In CGII, Cyprus offers a new type of stand with four legs instead of three<sup>511</sup>. Two examples survive but unfortunately no one comes from scientific excavations<sup>512</sup>.

From Attica we also have a remarkable LG specimen with four legs. It is 17.8 cm. high. On its high ring there is a procession of warriors armed with 8-shaped or circular shields while on each leg a warrior fights with an unrecognizable quadruped. The ring is concave; the legs, although tapering downwards, do not splay outwards. This "tripod" was regarded by Catling as a possible copy of an original with a figured open-work frieze<sup>513</sup>. It was dated by Schweitzer<sup>514</sup> ~~at~~ the end of the third quarter of the 8th century.

Catling's opinion about this stand appears rather improbable. It seems that its prototype was Cypriot and this is corroborated if we compare it with SCEIV:2, Fig.XXIV:8. True enough, there are discrepancies but there are also similarities. The Cypriot support has only three legs which do not directly support the ring as on the Athenian specimen, but on both stands there is figured decoration and the feet of both taper downwards. The Cypriot tripod was attributed by Gjerstad to the Black-on-Red I(III) class thus being a little earlier than the Athenian one. The four-legged stands of the CGII period are more than a century older so we cannot connect them immediately with LG Attica. At the same time we cannot connect this Kerameikos example with the contemporary Attic



tripods with outer struts as there is no common ground for comparisons.

Another Attic LG example of a stand on four feet is in the National Museum of Copenhagen<sup>515</sup>. It bears linear decoration but a row of birds is also depicted on the ring which is almost as high as the feet. The whole measures 20 cm. in height.

Here, we should like to refer also to a kind of cylindrical open-work clay-stand<sup>516</sup> which according to Catling was modelled after metal originals<sup>517</sup>. It was related by him to a stand from Karphi with two tiers of openings but very probably such relationship did not exist. The stand from Karphi was rather influenced by vessels like MP p.67, Fig. 20:336 (right) or more probably PMII, p.133, Fig. 67:a, even though it has only one row of openings.

The Cypriot stand has a relatively high concave ring supported on eight rectangular feet, four wide and four narrow, alternately. All the feet are fixed on a ring used as a base for the stand. In reality they were not fixed but the spaces between them were cut with a knife from a cone<sup>518</sup> of wet clay turned on the wheel. A kind of short projection was left hanging between the legs in order to give the impression of a fringe of pendent ornament according to Myres<sup>519</sup>. Its linear decoration consists of latticed lozenges, thatching, vertical lines, St. Andrews crosses, and bands. It is very early CGI.

An association of this stand with the Gournia clay,

round tower could be suggested but the time which separates them is a decisive factor against it<sup>520</sup>. A stand from Gezer in spite of all its differences from the Cypriot one looks closer because of the similarities of their rings<sup>521</sup>. The two stands are either contemporary or the Palestinian one is slightly earlier.

At any rate, the Cypriot and Palestinian stands are isolated examples and even though they do not have great similarities with the Cretan Late Minoan ones<sup>522</sup> it seems that they must be regarded as of Cretan influence.

Two Attic late Protogeometric cylindrical open-work stands<sup>523</sup> were often associated with the one from Myres' tomb<sup>524</sup>. Something like a century separates them from the Cypriot stand and at the same time as Catling observed<sup>525</sup> they are more sophisticated with bold openwork zig-zag bands above and below the legs. Due to the rarity and peculiarity of the shape I tend to accept a connexion with Cyprus. As for the sophistication of the Attic examples this merely shows the expertise of the potter himself.

Some more "fenestrated stands" come from the Cyclades. They are of Late Geometric times and they were perhaps inspired by Attic clay tripods as Coldstream suggests<sup>526</sup>. The more "advanced" of them, now more or less unrecognizable as tripods, were very possibly a straightforward imitation of Attic prototypes. This is indicated by two Attic pieces of fenestrated stands of c. 750 B.C.<sup>527</sup>.

Another object which merits our attention is the so called "altar" discovered at Karphi<sup>528</sup>. Boardman related it to the metallic Larnaka stand<sup>529</sup>. This connexion is probably correct but the dating of the "altar" in the 10th century seems very low<sup>530</sup>. We could be more correct in ascribing it to the early 11th.

Before bringing this chapter to its end something must be said of the tripod-cauldrons. Cyprus has actually nothing to do with them apart perhaps from an influence exercised by the decoration of the rod-tripods, and this unconsciously, C.900 B.C. The influence is manifested at Lefkandi in Euboea where on some moulds used perhaps for casting the legs of tripod-cauldrons the decoration consisted of perpendicular running spirals separated by ridges. The same motif is seen on a rod-tripod interred in tomb XI at Fortetsa<sup>531</sup> C.900 and Catling is correct in relating it to the moulds of Lefkandi despite all the implications that this view could have on the continuous or not production of the tripod-cauldron in Greece from the Late Bronze Age down to the Geometric period<sup>532</sup>.

These are then the evidences of connexion we have between the Aegean and Cyprus as regards tripods and stands. The LCIII bronze tripods do not concern us here even though their decoration influenced the tripod-cauldrons at Lefkandi in C.900 B.C. and gave rise to clay imitations in Attica. Both events occurred because of pre-existing Bronze Age specimens in Greece and not through actual imports of that time.

Two stands with four feet from LG Attica rather show Cypriot influences even though not very clear ones. The cylindrical open-work stand from early CGI probably has connexions with Crete and, in turn, it seems that it influenced late Protogeometric Attica. Finally, the early 11th century clay altar from Karphi may copy Cypriot metal stands.

#### 17. SIDE-SPOUTED JUG

Under this term we shall discuss the vessel whose major feature is a projection on the belly or the shoulder, which helps for the easier pouring of liquids. It is known with many other names like "Tea-pot", "Drinking-jar" or "Feeding-bottle" but none of these is adopted here, as we are not sure about the exact functions of the vase<sup>533</sup>.

In the Late Bronze Age Cyprus we can distinguish two main types and two further sub-divisions; a third sub-division (B1) is made here, because it is found in the Iron Age

- A. With basket handle and tubular spout, usually with strainer, on the same axis as the handle<sup>534</sup>.
- A1. The basket handle is set transversely in relation to the spout<sup>535</sup>.
- B. With vertical handle from shoulder to lip while the spout is placed on the axis of the handle<sup>536</sup>.



B1. Same, but the spout is set at right angles to the line of the handle. This type is known only in the Iron Age<sup>537</sup> (see supra).

B2. Same as B1. The spout, however, is short, open and with strainer.<sup>538</sup>

These LC types are mainly of Mycenaean origin and they continued their production into the Iron Age. Spouted vases had been manufactured in the Near East and the Aegean since the Early Bronze Age<sup>539</sup> and as most of the LC types are of Mycenaean origin we can regard them as of ultimately Aegean forms. Quickly surveying the history of every type in the Aegean, we are able to trace them backwards as follows:

Type A is seen at Asketario Attica, Zygouries and Lithares near Thebes in EH and at Eutresis and Messenia in MH<sup>540</sup>. It was quite frequent in LHIII and usually it was less than 15 cm. high,<sup>541</sup> as is the practice for the other types. Crete furnishes additional evidence for the Aegean origin of the shape. From tomb A at Vorrou in Mesara we have a vase showing connexions with EH<sup>542</sup>. It has a basket handle and open spout in the line of its handle. The pottery of the tomb was EMIII and MMI, and the side-spouted jug may be an influence from the mainland.

Type A1 is much rarer, there is one example from Perati<sup>543</sup> and more are known from Attica and other Aegean islands<sup>544</sup>. It is of LHIII and its earliest antecedent in Greece is one example from Samiko of LHIIA-B<sup>545</sup>. Both types, A and A1 were perhaps of Anatolian origin as some metal speci-

mens from there of the 3rd millennium B.C. manifest<sup>546</sup>. At any rate, the Cypriot type A1 has as immediate prototypes Palestinian vases according to Furumark<sup>547</sup>; its neck is different and the spout is shorter. It bears vertical stripes of paint indicating perhaps metal fluting after which they were manufactured. With the present evidence, the gap of time between the Anatolian examples and these Palestinian ones of the second half of the 2nd millennium is unbridgable and yet there may be a connexion.

Type B1 cannot be pushed back beyond MH. From that time we have a miniature example from Asine<sup>548</sup> and another one from Keos<sup>549</sup> of MCyc. At the first site another vase of the same type was recovered although not at all identical with the first one. In fact, its nearest parallel comes from Alishar-Huyuk<sup>550</sup> but the decoration seems Cycladiid. Its globular body, loop-handle and the non-existence of neck is unlike anything in the Aegean now or afterwards, so it seems that this latter vase had no influence on the formation of the type of the LHIII period.

Type B2 was unknown to Early or Middle Helladic period. Furumark regarded it again as a Syro-Palestinian form<sup>551</sup> but, as Prof. Iakovidis has pointed out, we more probably have a Greek creation than an Asiatic one<sup>552</sup>. It is true that it was a common shape among the Philistines<sup>553</sup> but they probably knew it before they were established in Palestine.

Finally, type B is of Cypriot origin as Furumark has shown with numerous ancestors reaching the Early Bronze Age<sup>554</sup>.

In Iron Age Cyprus types A and B2 are represented throughout

the entire epoch. Type B is found in CGIII while A1 re-emerged only in CAI after its bronze Age production. Type B1 is known only in CGI. By far, the commonest is type A. Its prolific production on the one hand and the extinction of type A1 for nearly four centuries on the other, means that the Oriental influence gave way to a Western one early in the 11th century<sup>555</sup>.

Examining the Iron Age material from the Aegean, we are struck with the scarcity of the side-spouted jug in all its districts. Attica offers very few examples. From the late Protogeometric we have a complete example, save a small chip from the body and the lip, from the Agora<sup>556</sup>, of type B1 (pl. 13a). It measures 10.7 cm. in height. On the shoulder there are five latticed triangles and below them small solid ones or dog-tooth as they are called. The lower part of the vase is glazed and the handle barred. The foot is conical of medium size. A side-spouted jug of the same type was discovered at Nea Ionia<sup>557</sup>. It is 8.2 cm. high, with low foot and two small conical bosses opposite the handle. It is undecorated, of gritty handmade fabric. These two Attic late Protogeometric examples have no links with LHIII. The sub-Mycenaean cemeteries of Salamis and Kerameikos produced nothing of that kind of vessel so very possibly it was a re-introduced shape.

Lefkandi, (Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea, 1964-66, p.24, fig.55) offers us a close parallel in shape. It comes perhaps not very long after the LHIIIC period and it is thus separated by few years from the Attic examples. Their similarity speaks in favour of

connexions and as the shape was current in Cyprus in CGI (pl.13b) we are justified in seeing this island influencing Lefkandi and Attica in the second part of the 10th century.

Crete was a more prolific source than Attica. The evidence from there covers the entire Iron Age and it is a continuation of the LM period<sup>558</sup>. Catling's observation that the Cretan side-spouted jugs of the LM period of our type A were manufactured under metal influence<sup>559</sup> is no doubt right, but his suggestion that because of that they could be of Cretan origin seems rather improbable as there are already hints of their being made after metal prototypes in EH times<sup>560</sup> and of course as we have mentioned before, they were made of metal in 3rd millennium Anatolia.

The earliest sub-Minoan specimens are those from Karphi<sup>561</sup>. They are of type A and B and a single example was lacking handles. Some were baseless but more often they had a high narrow foot. Contemporary or slightly later is an example of type A from Dreros<sup>562</sup>. Two more from the same site of type A1 are rather of LG date if we are to judge from the decoration<sup>563</sup> and the vases discovered with the one of the two, No.D15. Both vases have long spouts; D14 is baseless and D15 has a human foot in relief on its shoulder. Sub-Minoan or Protogeometric according to Furumark<sup>564</sup> are the side-spouted jugs from Phaestos. The one with the basket handle without distinct neck is not very much in the line of the LM examples which have a long neck well articulated with the body. The other one which belongs



to our type B is probably of Cypriot influence as evidence for its pre-existence in the Aegean is lacking. Of the same type and, probably, EPG is one illustrated in Ann. 47-48 (1969-70), p.55, fig. 20:2; It comes from Ayios Ioannis near Knossos.

From Kourtes we have an example of type A1. Nothing is certain about its chronology. Most of the vases illustrated with it are Cretan Geometric but this does not help in any way as they were not products of scientific excavations<sup>565</sup>. Desborough's only comment on it is that it belongs to the Minoan tradition<sup>566</sup>. Brock thought that its decoration was related to one discovered by him at Fortetsa<sup>567</sup>, of EPG which is of type A. Similar to Brock's example and also contemporary or MPG are some more from Ayios Ioannis near Knossos<sup>568</sup>. Their Minoan ancestry is manifested by the back projection of the basket handle on two of them. Another crude one from Khaniale Tekke<sup>569</sup> is rather of PGB date.

Adhromyloi in East Crete continues the series with two more examples which cannot be earlier than Geometric<sup>570</sup>. One is of type A, the other of B and it is rather a Cypriot influence<sup>571</sup>.

Finally, another vase of type B turned up very recently from Prinias<sup>572</sup>. It was attributed to the Geometric period but it shows no close affinities to anyone of its type from Crete. It stands on a high narrow foot with short neck merging into one unit with the shoulder and the spout is quite long. Its decoration consists of bands and a wavy line on the shoulder. This vase also can be regarded as of Cypriot influence.

The conclusion we reach after this discussion is that

both Crete and Cyprus inherited the side-spouted jug from the Bronze Age but the former was indebted to the latter for the class B variety with the spout opposite the handle which is found in the Early sub-Minoan period at Karphi and Phaestos, in the EPG at Knossos, and in the "Geometric", possibly C.850 at Prinias and even later at Adhromyloi.

From Dodecanese we have more examples. All of them are of class B1 with tubular, lateral spout. One from Kamiros<sup>573</sup> has strong affinities to the one from the Agora in Athens. It has low foot, ovoid body and flaring lip. Part of neck and lip is missing. It is painted all over except the shoulder on which sets of concentric semicircles are applied. The upper part of the neck is also left blank. We could attribute this vase to the end of the 10th century.

Cos, Serraglio tomb 10 offers two more side-spouted jugs of mid-10th century<sup>574</sup>. They are handmade, with incised decoration and their neck finishes in a bold trefoil-lip. A peculiarity which they have is the placing of the spout. The practice is normally to add it to the left of the handle from the point of view of one holding it, but here we have the opposite.

Argolid<sup>575</sup>, Thessaly<sup>576</sup> and Macedonia<sup>577</sup> offer more examples. One specimen from Marmariani, Thessaly has a trefoil lip like those from Cos. None of these districts show connections with Cyprus, and the same holds good for Naxos<sup>578</sup> from where we have a Protogeometric vase of our class A1. Only Iasos in South-Western Asia Minor offers us an example of our

type B. Perhaps 9th century<sup>579</sup>. It is too crude a vessel to allow us any comparisons.

Thus, the evidence we have for connexions between Cyprus and the Aegean lies in the type B side-spouted jug with the projection opposite the handle, which is found in early sub-Minoan, Protogeometric and Geometric Crete. Type B1 with the lateral spout may also be of Cypriot inspiration. The influence of this particular type took place in the second half of the 10th century at Lefkandi and Attica. None of the other Aegean regions shows immediate contact with Cyprus.

#### 18. BOTTLE

Under the name of the bottle, I refer here to a cylindrical, tall, narrow-necked flask. In the P.W.H.P. technique, towards the middle of these series there exist many examples. Very probably, it is a native fabric to Cyprus<sup>580</sup> as Daniel had maintained<sup>581</sup> and there is little room for Mycenaean influence such as Furumark suggested<sup>582</sup>, considering the native evolution as secondary. Gjerstad accepted a Palestinian rather than Cypriot origin for them but with reservations<sup>583</sup> because five cylindrical flasks made of Palestinian clay were discovered at Gezer, tomb 59, and three more at Tell-Fara<sup>584</sup>, the former dated by Furumark between 1100 - 1050. Another one was present at Gezer in a deposit of the sub-Philistine period, namely 1050 - 1000 B.C.

On that evidence, Furumark dated the beginning of CGI before 1100 because he believed in Cypriot influence on Gezer<sup>585</sup> and not the reverse as Gjerstad did.

We have stated the Cypriot character of the bottle and we proceed to examine the Palestinian evidence and try to clarify its position, if possible. The existence of a bottle in a context of 1050 - 1000 B.C. precludes the possibility that the five specimens were manufactured c.1100 and the other one c.1000, these dates being the most apart we can have. Probably the truth lies somewhere in the middle and the five specimens may date from c.1075 B.C. On the other hand, as these bottles are not plentiful and without continuation of life before or after that time, they must owe their existence to outside influence. We have rejected the idea of the development of the bottle from Mycenaean models, so Gjerstad's main argument that they evolved in Palestine rather than Cyprus through Mycenaean incentive cannot stand any more. If we now come to have a closer look on the Gezer bottles, we can easily recognise that they were manufactured under two traditions. On plate LXXXV Nos 5, 6, 8<sup>586</sup> were after Bronze Age Cypriot prototypes<sup>587</sup> while No.2 was after the PWhP and WhPI and the same is true for the one of the sub-Philistine period<sup>588</sup>. Not that the last two are absolutely without connexion with the former group, in fact, both owe their existence to Cypriot Bronze Age prototypes but plate LXXXV:2 with sharp outline and body tapering a little upwards is very possibly in the Cypriot PWhP tradition<sup>589</sup>. In



any case, according to the accepted chronology, the Cypriot examples cannot be shown to pre-date the Gezer specimens if, as we have said, the dating of both is in the second quarter of the 11th century<sup>590</sup>. In these circumstances, we are left with two alternatives, either to lower even further the dating of the Gezer tomb and place it c.1050, an idea suggested by Gjerstad<sup>591</sup>, or raise the beginning of CGI. The latter seems to me more probable but one cannot say with certainty that this Gezer evidence allows us to place the beginning of CGI at 1075. I should rather prefer to say that the beginning of CGI floats between 1075-1050 B.C.

The bottle has minor discrepancies among the various specimens of Cypriot provenance, especially in the rendering of the handles. It is usually baseless, with the vertical axis much longer than the horizontal one, with narrow neck, funnel mouth and abrupt carination from body to shoulder and from the latter to neck. Of undisputedly P.Wh.P. date from known contexts are two bottles from Lapithos, one from tomb 503<sup>592</sup> and one from tomb P74<sup>593</sup>, and one from Palaepaphos<sup>594</sup>. Some more belong to private collections.

In CGI period, the production of the bottle is prolific<sup>596</sup> and they continue in CGII<sup>597</sup>. Among the earliest are those from Kaloriziki tombs 25 and 26 (pl.14a). Additional evidence is now furnished from a Salaminian tomb of the 11th century<sup>598</sup>. The resemblance in shape with those from Kourion is really striking, especially in comparing Salamis No.75 and Kourion No.82 from tomb 26A. Mme Yon ascribed hers to P.Wh.P.

but in the light of their resemblance to those from Kourion<sup>599</sup> we have better regard them as belonging to CGI<sup>600</sup>.

The distinction between the two categories is really difficult but here, because of the great similarity I should even see the same workshop, if not the same hand in manufacturing the Salaminian and Kaloriziki bottles; They must be thus contemporary. As Dr Karageorghis has stated, the Salaminian tomb is slightly later than the one he excavated at Paphos<sup>601</sup> and as some of its vases were true WhPI, then we are justified in dating the tomb C.1050 - 1040 B.C., if we accept a slightly higher date for the beginning of CGI, otherwise we may lower its date for another one or two decades.

The height of the CGI bottles varies between 27 and 16 cm. In CGII tend to be shorter, being under 20 cm. The decoration on all the classes consists of cross-hatched bands, lozenges, triangles, simple bands and generally linear motifs.

Two vases discovered in Athens were associated by Desborough<sup>602</sup> with Cypriot fabrics of the bottles in question. He says of them: "The vases are not in fact as close in shape and decoration as could be desired and the possibility of connexion depends much on the rarity of the shape." One of the two vases is very late sub-Mycenaean<sup>603</sup> and the other one is transitional to Protogeometric. Both, thus, post-date a little the Cypriot material and as they are isolated vases, foreign to the Attic repertoire of the time, they must be <sup>attributed to</sup> ~~regarded~~ outside influence.

Karphi in Crete is also influenced from Cyprus, BSA 55 (1960), pl.11:b, first row the right one, as Desborough says<sup>604</sup>. The nearest parallel to the Cretan one I could draw is one in the Lanitis collection<sup>605</sup>, which is PWhP.

Before bringing this chapter to an end, I cannot help referring to a probable influence of a Mycenaean pyxis namely AE 1933 87, fig. 33 B9 from Kephallenia on a jug, Studies, p.222, jug No.3<sup>606</sup> although handle and neck are entirely different. The body, however, is nearly the same with concave profile and high foot. The only reason for mentioning these two vases is their somewhat "bottlish" shape. They both belong to the final phase of the Bronze Age.

In conclusion, we can say that in chronological terms the bottle indicates a date between 1075 - 1050 for the beginning of CGI and that around 1060 - 1050 B.C. Cyprus influenced Attica and Karphi, Crete.

#### 19. BARREL-JUGS

The shape of this vase is popular throughout the Iron Age period of Cyprus. Two varieties were distinguished by Gjerstad<sup>607</sup>, depending on the presence or absence of a handle-ridge on the neck. The body of the vase is somewhat globular in type I; in type II it becomes longer and tapers towards

both ends. This tendency for elongation is more advanced in the later stages of the Geometric period. Two more important factors for the distinction of the various types of the barrel-jug are the neck and rim. In CGI the neck-ridged variety has these features well modelled, concave neck and collar-shaped rim. In CGII, the mouth loses its collar having only a small rim and being rather carelessly made. In CGIII the neck is almost straight below the ridge and in CAI, the same happens above the ridge. In CAII, the neck is often entirely straight and the mouth is sometimes pinched.

The variety without handle-ridge has also collar-shaped rim in class I. In the next period, when it has a slightly widening upwards neck terminating in a plain rim, this characteristic disappears. Class III has a funnel-shaped mouth while class IV has usually cylindrical neck and only the rim flares. Class V, as in the previous variety, very often has a pinched mouth<sup>608</sup>.

The decoration can only play a minor part in the distinction of types as it does not diverge considerably from class to class, especially in the earlier stages, so the basic criterion for the classification of the barrel-jugs is mainly their shape.

In Greece, it is really scarce, but some examples exist scattered in various districts. The recent excavations at Lefkandi yielded a Cypriot vase called by the excavators "flask" (609) and one wonders whether it is really a pilgrim-flask or a barrel-jug. The photograph, even though very clear, is



taken from an angle that does not permit a definite attribution to the one or the other type. It seems, however, that the probability of its being a barrel-jug is greater and I treat it as such.

It belongs to Gjerstad's second variety without handle-ridge. It is only 14 cm. high and according to the neck's shape it can be attributed to type II. Whether early or late, we cannot be sure. The decoration consists of simple thick and thin bands, which gives very weak evidence for its chronology<sup>610</sup>. The tomb in which it was found contained one burial only; included, among the other vases, were some imported LPG Attic ones which is consistent with the Cypriot vase being of CGII.

If we now go to Rhodes, the close connexions of this island with Cyprus are strengthened by the presence of barrel-jugs. From Ialysos, Marmaro grave 43, we have two examples. They were characterised as CGII<sup>611</sup>. The necks do not survive completely but enough is there to suggest that they really are of class II. Their rather elongated body speaks for a rather late date in that period so I tend to regard them as CGIIB. The tomb is accepted by Coldstream as EG while Snodgrass attributes it to the transitional stage from PG to EG and Desborough says that it belongs to the beginning of the Geometric<sup>612</sup>. It could well belong to the first quarter of the 9th century and CGIIB fits this date perfectly well.<sup>613</sup>

To the tradition of the barrel-jugs belong three more vases from Massari-Malona<sup>614</sup>. They are rather free adaptations

of Cypriot prototypes; they are dated by Coldstream in his Dodecanesean MG, perhaps in the late 9th century<sup>615</sup>. One of the vases has round mouth of the Cypriot III period, while the other two have bold trefoils. All three are between 9.2-10.4 cm. high.

Another barrel-jug of Rhodian workmanship is a big example with two necks from Exochi<sup>616</sup>. It is possibly contemporary with the Massari-Malonagroup. It is 24 cm. high; its two necks are topped by trefoil mouths and there is only one strap handle. Its decoration is linear consisting of hatched and cross-hatched triangles, dots, a curious kind of (E) shaped meander and concentric circles on the sides, the central one having a star-like ornament. There is little doubt that the prototype of this vase is SCEIV:2, Fig. XXXIII:14 with three necks. This particular influence is also seen on another three-necked oinochoe from Tiryns<sup>617</sup>. Multiple necks are very rarely seen, on certain other shapes of the very late LG or Archaic period of Greece<sup>618</sup>.

Crete is another region where Cypriot barrel-jugs were imitated. Tomb R of Arkades offers two miniature examples<sup>619</sup>. The one illustrated in Annuario is only 4.7 cm. high. Another example from Episkopi is rather of Orientalizing date if we are to judge from its decoration, consisting of circles and quatre-foils dividing in four a lozenge in outline. Its clay is fine and polished. The mouth is missing. Height preserved 13 cm. It is of the variety with neck-ridge<sup>620</sup>.

The Argolid, which we had the opportunity to mention before, imitated the barrel-jugs in a particular way, to judge from an example found at Tiryns. The potters made the barrel tapering on both sides but terminating in big flat discs. The handle was from lip to "shoulder" and the mouth was formed in a trefoil like the Rhodian example with the two necks. It is 26 cm. high<sup>621</sup>. It belongs to Argive LGI<sup>622</sup>. It is decorated with bands, solid spirals and rectangles in a row below the mouth. The projecting lateral discs have a slapdash star-like ornament.

Of exactly the same shape - neck and handle missing - is another one said to come from Attica<sup>623</sup>. Its decoration with its sets of concentric circles is much closer to Cypriot prototypes. The resemblance between these two examples, however, is closer and more direct than their link with Cyprus. Which imitates which, one cannot say.

We can, thus, see that in the last quarter of the 10th century and the beginning of the 9th, there were connexions between Cyprus and Lefkandi and Cyprus and Rhodes, due to actual imports in the first instance and probable ones in the second. The connexions with Rhodes were maintained throughout the 9th century and they were extended in the second half of the 8th century to the Argolid, Attica and Crete.

This name is attributed here to a certain type of object consisting of a long, sometimes up to 50 cm. flat "arm" rounded at both ends on the lower part of which there is a shallow "bowl" while on the upper part there is usually a plastic bull's head and a pierced hole for suspension. Various decorative motifs are applied on the flat arm.

The shape in question is also known by other names such as wall-bracket, hanging lamp, or torch-holder. Here we have adopted the term "incense-burner" as it seems the most appropriate. The very shallow bowl of the lower part of many examples is rather unsatisfactory as an oil holder, being thus unsuitable as a lamp.

Where the shape originates we are not sure even though there are indications suggesting the Levant. Examples were discovered in Syria, Palestine and Cyprus<sup>624</sup>. In Cyprus in the Bronze Age they were frequent in LCIII but they were also known in LCII. They were rarely put in tombs although such a practice was not altogether lacking<sup>625</sup>.

In the Iron Age, the same scarcity is clear in tomb contexts and it is most unfortunate that we do not have extensive settlement-site excavations to see if they were still very much in vogue as in the LCIII period.

From the LCIIIB-CGI tomb from Salamis published by Madame M. Yon we know that the shape was still current<sup>626</sup>. From Lapithos tomb 403 we have an example belonging to the first burial period<sup>627</sup>; it cannot be dated accurately as that period



contained pottery of late class I, mostly class II and even early III. It was found on the tomb floor. It was 29.8 cm. high with a shallow "receptacle" and a pierced hole on the two ends; no bull-head was modelled. The decoration consisted of two circles, one inside the other, at the lower part; above it there was a cross-hatched band and then four bands of zig-zag having between them three bands of latticed lozenges. The decoration speaks rather against a dating in CGIII and this becomes clearer if we compare it with a Bich.III example<sup>628</sup>. When, however, we come to distinguish it as class I or II we face great difficulties and we cannot be sure of an accurate dating. Probably it belongs to CGIIB, this assumption based on the motif of the two circles, one inside the other, which emerged at that time<sup>629</sup>.

From the material at our disposition today we are unable to support the existence of incense-burners in CGI but I do not think that it is really absent. As we have seen, they were scarcely used as tomb furniture and this is perhaps the reason we have not encountered any.

Two more examples from Cyprus deserve special attention. One was discovered at Rizokarpaso and it was the product of no scientific digging<sup>630</sup>. Chronologically it could be anything between CGI-III. It has a rather deep "bowl" although fragmentary, a bull's head and above it a hole. The thing that makes the piece unique is the presence of two sinuous plastic snakes. Such a practice was known in early CGI<sup>631</sup> on other vase-shapes

and I think that here, it also favours such a dating.

The other incense-burner is a metal one and is considered by Gjerstad as of the Iron Age period. I believe, however, with Catling that it could well be of Late Cypriot times<sup>632</sup>.

Finally we mention a clay incense-burner from the Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery which is part of the Hamilton Lang Collection<sup>633</sup>. Strangely enough it bears a goat's head instead of a bull's one<sup>634</sup>. The decoration, especially the big bright rosette may speak in favour of a date in CGIII.

In the Aegean the incense-burner is completely absent till now, so we cannot speak of connexions on this particular object. This is all we can say about it.

## 21. PYXIS, GLOBULAR-RECTANGULAR

The globular pyxis is represented in Cyprus by only one early CGI specimen from Lapithos, called by Gjerstad "jar" or "bowl"<sup>635</sup>. Here, however, I regard it as a pyxis because its shape bears all the characteristics of the hand-made sub-Mycenaean Attic pyxides.

The connexion of the two regions becomes clear if we compare the Cypriot pyxis (fig.A2) to Ker.I, taf.25, Grab 77 inv.491. Both are baseless, with spherical body, lip turning

inwards instead of projecting and two pierced lug-handles fixed near the lip. As the Cypriot example is early CGI and the Attic belongs to sub-Mycenaean, the influence is regarded as travelling from Attica to Cyprus c.1050 B.C. or soon afterwards. The decoration of the Lapithos pyxis consists of two rows of interlocking hatched triangles, a row of chevrons between them and bands. Its lip is barred and the height 12.7 cm.

The late Protogeometric Attic pyxides have a low conical foot, nearly spherical body and the lip projects instead of curving inwards as on the sub-Mycenaean example<sup>636</sup>. Only Agora P.326<sup>637</sup> has the lip curving inwards but its handles are not attached beside it but on the shoulder of the pyxis (pl.15a).

The rectangular pyxis or box is a very rare shape in both Cyprus and the Aegean where our only specimens come from Attica. In Cyprus two such pyxides are known but neither of them comes from scientific excavations. At all events, judging from the decorative motifs, both are ascribed to the beginning of CGI. The one in the Cyprus Museum<sup>638</sup> (pl.15b) is rectangular, standing on four high feet one of which is missing. On the upper part of the short sides there are two projecting pierced, bulky, lug-handles. The decoration consists of outlined lozenges confining five smaller solid ones in the form of a cross. The long sides have three such ornaments divided by two "triglyphs" while the short ones have only one. All four sides are bordered by a ladder pattern apart from their upper part. The lower part of the feet is painted. Its height is 13 cm. and its

length 20. It is rather certain that there was a lid, now missing. The next Cypriot pyxis comes from the Pierides' collection<sup>639</sup>. The division of its long sides into panels, recalls the previous one of the Cyprus Museum, but the decorative motifs are quite different. The central one bears the characteristic ornament of a lozenge flanked by triangles having their apices joined to those of the lozenge. The two side-panels bear a jug and a hatched Maltese cross each one. The lid which covers the pyxis, bears the same motifs with more linear decoration. There was only one lug-handle on the one of the short sides where the lid's pierced projection could be adjusted. The box rests on four high feet though not so high as those on the one of the Cyprus Museum. It is in the Bichrome technique, contrary to the previous one which is White Painted. It is 15.5 cm. long, 7.5 cm. broad and 8.5 cm. high. (pl. 16a)

In Attica, from Kerameikos tomb 13 which is very early Protogeometric, we have a reconstructed fragmentary pyxis and the sherds of another one<sup>640</sup>. The box of this vase measures 4.5 cm. in height, 11.4 cm. in length and 7 cm. in breadth. The inside depth of this miniature box is 3.8 cm. Its decoration consists of standing and pendent semicircles with solid cores and zig-zag lines. The lid, perhaps, had two pierced projections of which none survived, corresponding to the two projections of the box, one of which is also missing. The legs are tapering downwards. The lid is slightly convex.

The second one, from grave 22 South of the Eridanos,



chronologically comes a little afterwards<sup>641</sup>. It is almost square, standing on four medium size feet. On the two sides it bears reserved semi-circles and on each leg a perpendicular row of dog-tooth, the apices facing outwards. The other two sides have four thin concentric bands and between the second and third one there is a row of triangles giving the impression of "the sun". The lid is tapered upwards with a knob at the centre. On the two sides, pierced projections correspond with similar ones on the lid. Its height with the lid is 11.5 cm., its length 10.9 cm. and its breadth 8.5 cm.

If we had to draw conclusions from this evidence and say which district influenced which, our task would be very difficult. The shape of the Cypriot and Attic pyxides is very similar and even their size show that all of them were miniature vases. Their decoration is not the same except the zig-zag line which, however, cannot add anything to our effort to clarify the connexions. The Attic specimens with their hand-drawn semi-circles indicate a transitional stage from sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric but still, they cannot be much earlier if at all, than the CGI examples. A third Cypriot rectangular pyxis from Paphos in the PWhP technique was published by Dr Karageorghis, BCH, 91(1967), 303, fig. 73. It stands on four feet and its box is divided in two equal parts by a vertical wall. Its height is 12.5 cm. The main discrepancy with the other Cypriot and Attic ones is the absence of pierced lug-projections to secure a lid which it also lacks. In any case,

this pyxis may stand in the head of the series of the rectangular pyxides so we regard the influence as travelling from Cyprus to Attica in the mid-11th century (pl.14b).

It seems that the rectangular pyxis had a very short life in Cyprus while in Attica a similar type, but with open-work struts made its appearance in the late Protogeometric times<sup>642</sup>.

We are now left with only one Attic variety, the type called by Desborough high-handled pyxis<sup>643</sup>. From Athens the first one comes from a transitional sub-Mycenaean-Protogeometric context<sup>644</sup>. It rests on three feet and it seems a deterioration of the straight-sided pyxis of the latest Mycenaean epoch. The next two Attic specimens are rather late Protogeometric and they show no connexion with the previous one<sup>645</sup>. None of the three show any connexions with Cyprus.

In Cyprus the so-called straight-sided pyxis is present in the PWhP technique. The one in the Michaelides' collection<sup>646</sup>, is really remarkable for its decoration (pl.16b). Both its sides are divided into two parts, upper and lower one, by a single band. The two parts of the one side have triangles in outline and chevrons. The triangles of the upper part are bordered with dots. The other side bears on the lower part the motif of triangles and on the upper one a man, partly in outline, partly in silhouette, holding a two-handled kylix, beside him there is a triangle in multiple outline, then a quadruped and next to it a bird

with raised wings. The whole scene gives the impression that the event, whatever it is, takes place on a mountainous country. The man seems to bear an 8-shaped shield. The triangles are rather representing mountains and perhaps the man makes a libation before going hunting, the game represented by the quadruped and the bird. The weak point of this explanation is the shield which would be rather useless for hunting in Cyprus, as there were no carnivorous animals. The only excuse we could find for the presence of the shield might be the existence of bears living at that time on the island. The quadruped is more or less of undetermined species. In any case, the curving of the horns suggests a goat but the convex body and the downwards pointing tail contradicts it and suggest the Cypriot "agrino" a kind of wild sheep found even today on the mountains of the western part of the island. The somehow unfamiliar curving of its horns may be due to the painter's slapdash execution<sup>647</sup>. The rendering of the whole scene is very conventional but quite remarkable. The shape of the vase is in favour of imitation of a Cretan one. If we compare the Cypriot shape to those found at Karphi<sup>648</sup>, we recognise the striking feature of the double superimposed handle of the Cypriot specimen to be present there, even in a triple form. They also spring up from very low near the base. This pyxis in the Michaelides' collection measures 13.4 cm. in height with a mouth diam. of 11.5 cm. The Moulana pyxis<sup>649</sup> shows little sign of straight influence, especially if the quadruped is an "agrino" as we explained



and not a goat, but probably Crete was the source for the figured scenes on Cypriot vases of the early 11th century.

Another PWhP pyxis of a similar shape, but very fragmentary, turned up from the Kouklia (Palaepaphos) cemetery "Lakkos tou Skarnou"<sup>650</sup>. It was decorated with rows of lozenges (pl.17a). A third example comes from Salamis.<sup>651</sup>

Two more pyxides of CGI could be included in this tradition, even though they have their discrepancies<sup>652</sup>. The essentials, however, are there. Their handles spring up from very low and they are attached on the side. The inward curving of the upper part and the moulding of the lip are still like the previous ones. The main difference is the low conical foot from which the body springs in a shallow angle. The more remarkable of the two is the Cyprus Museum B.63 (pl.17b). It is a big vase 35 cm. high, very richly decorated. The bird of the lower part on one of the panels is rather similar to the one found on the pyxis of the Michaelides' collection. The bird, however, of the latter pyxis gives us the impression that it is walking, although it has its wings raised while the former one gives us the sense of flying.

An Argive specimen shows Attic influence of C.900 B.C. Its decoration can easily be matched by Ker.I taf. 50, inv.599 while the shape is very much like Ker. V<sub>1</sub>, taf. 15:13.<sup>653</sup>

Finally, we can reach the conclusion that Attic influence is very probable on the Cypriot globular pyxis of early CGI with inward curving rim and small pierced lug-handles. The



evidence is also quite convincing for Cypriot influence on the Attic rectangular pyxides of very early Protogeometric times. The straight-sided variety with high handles of Cypriot PWhP and CGI is rather derived from Crete<sup>654</sup> in the first half of the 11th century.

22. VASES WITH EXCRESCENT CUPS

Under this name we shall discuss deep "bowls" with a "false" cup applied on the rim, the handles, or beside them. We call this cup "false" because it does not communicate with the interior of the vase. It is something independent simply perched on it.

In Cyprus such vases were discovered in many places, in late PWhP technique which continued into the Iron Age<sup>655</sup>. Usually, the Cypriot examples were provided with a relatively high foot - a low one is also found but it is scarce - double curved body and horizontal handles fixed at the point of greatest circumference or near it. The false cup was perched on one of the handles but we have two examples from Lapithos where it is attached beside them<sup>656</sup>. The height of these vases varies between 10-20 cm. and the decoration consists of bands wavy lines, cross-hatched triangles and lozenges.

Daniel is correct in claiming this shape as a composite

type based upon Mycenaean amphoriskoi <sup>to</sup> ~~on~~ which a false spout has been added<sup>657</sup>; when, however, he adds that the practice is in the Cypriot manner, this latter statement does not find us in agreement. It is true that in Cyprus there was a tradition of perching cups on the rims of cultic vessels but, nevertheless, it is so far away in time from our 11th century vases and at the same time in a different fashion that I hesitate to see any connexion<sup>658</sup>. Very probably the practice was copied from Crete and it influenced Cyprus in the 11th century<sup>659</sup>, after which it was abandoned. From Perati we have the same practice on a kalathos<sup>660</sup>. Two excrescent cups are set on the lip opposite each other with four mourning figures between them. This vase must also have a connexion with Crete.

One of the earliest vases at Karphi is a kalathos with a false cup fixed on its lip<sup>661</sup>. It is called by Pendlebury and subsequently by Snodgrass "transitional" and dated C.1100 B.C.<sup>662</sup>. Similar, but simpler, are three more, one from Lilliana<sup>663</sup>, one from Olous<sup>664</sup> and one from Dreros<sup>665</sup>. All four have one loop-handle attached on the lip, and they are very early 11th century.

To the same tradition belong one from Vrokastro<sup>666</sup> and two straight-sided jars from Fortetsa<sup>667</sup>. On these examples the handles are from lip to body. They may be attributed to late sub-Minoan - Early Protogeometric.

Tomb II of Fortetsa contained a vase called by Brock a small krater<sup>668</sup>. This vase has the excrescent cup next to the

handle and its outline is very much like SCEIV:2, Fig.II:6 from Lapithos which is early CGI or one from tomb 503 (pl.18a) from the same place of PWhP. All three have the conical foot, double curved sides, the handles nearly on the widest part of the body and the false spout beside one of the handles. The Cypriot vase is 13 cm. high while the Cretan is 20. As the latter is late 11th century, I regard it as influenced from Cyprus. Another example from Fortetsa of a straight-sided jar with the false spout by the handle instead of on the lip<sup>670</sup> is also regarded in the Cypriot tradition. It is 13 cm. high and can be dated as very late sub-Minoan.

A vessel from Theotokou in Thessaly is in the tradition of the vases with excrescent cups. It was discovered in tomb 'B' which was dated by Desborough as contemporary with late Protogeometric Attica, in other words late 10th century<sup>671</sup>. Its body is deep and there is distinct articulation at the junction with the "neck" which converges upwards and is topped by an everted rim. The foot is high conical and flares. A well moulded cup is fixed on the upper part of the body, but does not communicate with the interior. Desborough saw this vase as a development of the skyphos to a certain extent. It was covered entirely by black paint. The shape of this vase cannot be matched either in Cyprus or in Crete but as it is peculiar and unique in Theotokou and generally in Thessaly, there may be a link with the two islands, although the shape of the pot itself does not suggest this. As we have said

before, the shape dies out in Cyprus early in CGI which means it does not survive into the 10th century. On the contrary, in Crete it is manufactured down to the EPG, thus it accords perfectly well with the vase from Theotokou. Probably, there was only an inspiration from Crete but no strong influence.

The same is perhaps the case of the Argolid, even though here the Cretan inspiration is more clearly manifested by the excrescent cup fixed on the handle of a deep bowl resembling somehow the practice of the Cretan straight-sided jars. This Argive vessel was recently discovered in an EG tomb<sup>672</sup> at Argos and in addition to the cup, it bore a miniature oinochoe attached on the other handle.

The conclusion we reach is that LMIII Crete was manufacturing a kalathos with a cup perched on its lip. This shape inspired the Cypriot potters of the early 11th century to add the "false" cup on amphoriskoi or small jars. The Cypriot vases in turn had an impact on late 11th century Crete but very probably the latter island is the one which inspired this form of vessels in Thessaly in the second half of the 10th century and in the Argolid in the first half of the ninth.



The shape of this vase was known in Crete since MM times when it was found in the polychrome technique<sup>673</sup>. Nevertheless it is<sup>a</sup> common conviction that they are of Asiatic origin<sup>674</sup>. The Mycenaean potters copied it, especially in the Levant, only to abandon it in the final century of the Late Bronze Age. The Iron Age offers us very few specimens scattered here and there in the Aegean world.

In Cyprus it is quite popular and in LCIIIB and CGI, it is found side by side with foreign (Syro-Palestinian) ware of the same shape. The difference perhaps lies in the longer neck of the foreign flasks, compared with the relatively short ones of those from Cyprus. In CGI it has concave neck and well indicated rim. In CGII the neck is funnel-shaped, terminating in a plain rim while in CGIII the lentoid body of the vase becomes wider in profile, the neck is again funnel-shaped but with distinct rim. Finally in CAI the neck tapers upwards and is topped by a bowl-like mouth<sup>675</sup>. There are two varieties, one with one and one with two handles. The former is rarer and tends to have a longer neck than the two-handled variety. The decoration on both consists mainly of concentric bands on either side of the body, herring-bone on the keel or some cross-hatched lozenges immediately under the handles. An enclosed Maltese-cross is not unusual on either side.

In sub-Minoan Crete, we find the pilgrim flask in East Crete from the very early years of this period. The nearest antecedent is one in Oxford, regarded by Catling as LMIIIC<sup>676</sup>.

Its decoration consists of bands on either side and it has only one handle. One of the earliest sub-Minoan examples is a big flask from Mouliana<sup>677</sup>, measuring 43 cm. in height. It has one strap-handle fixed on the neck and opposite it there are two knobs like breasts. Its decoration consists of concentric bands and a cross confined in the smallest one, with a quatrefoil? on the other side. Both these ornaments are confined into plastic rings and not simple decorated bands. Below the breast there is a zig-zag line. Contemporary are perhaps two more from Vrokastro<sup>678</sup> chamber tomb V. One belongs to the one-handled variety. It is decorated with bands and one of its two sides is almost missing. Handle from shoulder to neck. The latter is concave with a rather flaring lip. The second flask bears four bands and a small knob at the centre of (either?) side. One of its two handles and several other pieces are missing. A third example from Vrokastro comes from chamber tomb I, and it might be a little later<sup>679</sup> than those of chamber tomb V. It is a big vase measuring 45.5 cm. in height and 37 cm. in diam. The neck is short and painted but fringed on the lower part. On either side there are concentric bands and a zig-zag line. A chain of bordered hatched triangles runs on the keel all round the vase.

In the Cretan Protogeometric period we have an example from Fortetsa<sup>680</sup>, tomb L. Its diam. is only 8.5 cm. Neck and handle are missing. The decoration consists of zig-zag bands and a cross at the centre of the one side while the other one

has bands, rings and triangles. It is LPG. A second one dating from the Protogeometric period is said to come from Hogarth's tombs near Knossos<sup>681</sup>. Before leaving Knossos we have to mention an additional example published by Hood-Boardman and said to belong to PGB<sup>682</sup>. It is 13.8 cm. high. It has concave neck, funnel-shaped mouth and one handle from shoulder to upper part of neck. The decoration consists of multiple-armed cross surrounded by triangles in outline. The handle is barred and the neck bears bands.

From Kavousi, East Crete, we have two more<sup>683</sup> which are later than those of Vrokastro and Moulia. From the photograph they seem to have flat base and one handle from shoulder to neck with simple banding as decoration. No description was made by the excavator and the photographs are bad for a precise observation. At Kavousi the sub-Minoan period lingered for a long time so we cannot say with certainty in which century these vases belong.

One more flask from Kourtes has been stated by Mariani to be of Cypriot type<sup>684</sup>. Its handle is fixed on the neck and the circular side instead of the keel, an oddity seen in LHIIIB-C Rhodes, Perati and early CGI at Lapithos<sup>685</sup>. The same attachment of the handle can be observed on the LG flasks from Adhromyloi<sup>686</sup> but nothing more can be said about them because of the miniature scale of the photographs.

This is the material we have from Crete. In the early sub-Minoan period we only have examples from East Crete. In the

Protogeometric period we have them at Knossos and afterwards at Kourtes in south-central Crete and Adhromyloi in East Crete. Very probably the early pieces from Vrokastro and Mouliana comprise one group and the rest or at least those discovered at Knossos owe their existence to a different source.

Examining the first group, we are unable to find exact parallels. The plastic ring of the Mouliana example, in which the cross is confined, is seen on a Myc.IIIB flask from Cyprus. (CVA, Cyprus 2, pl.21:1-2; BCH,86 (1962), p.362f, fig.90). The interval of time is long and does not allow connexions. The knob, however, of one of the Vrokastro tomb V examples is present on two irregular flasks from Cyprus, which have the one side swollen<sup>687</sup>. This type of pilgrim flask found in LCIIIB or CGI is derived from the late Rhodo-Mycenaean. A similar flask to the Cypriot one was assigned by Stubbings to Myc.IIIB<sup>688</sup>. The differences are that the Rhodo-Mycenaean example has one handle fixed on the swollen side instead of the keel and no knobs were moulded. None of the two Cypriot examples with the knob antedate the Vrokastro example. They are perhaps, contemporary but still, if there was an influence it was from Cyprus towards East Crete, as the former island was a prolific centre of pilgrim flasks. The second group or better the Knossian group of the Protogeometric period is more in the Attic tradition, despite the fact that they lack the trefoil mouth (see *infra*). We base this conclusion on the decoration of Fortetsa p.34:312, pl.21 with the reserved triangles on a concentric row, which imitates



Attic late Protogeometric examples. For the material of the other places we cannot form an opinion as the material is not very helpful. In conclusion, we can only say that there might be connexions between Cyprus and Vrokastro, East Crete in the first half of the 11th century, the influence being from Cyprus towards Crete. The same current is observed in the Early Orientalizing period when a high-footed jug from Khaniale Tekke with rope handle, trefoil lip, lenticular body is rather an adaptation of the flask. Boardman rightly attributed this vase to Cypriot influence.<sup>689</sup>

We now proceed to examine the material from Dodecanese. The first examples from Rhodes belong to East Greek sub-Protogeometric if not to EG as Coldstream suggested<sup>690</sup>. They were found in the tomb CXLI of Ialysos along with a bird-vase of probable Cypriot influence<sup>691</sup>. There were two specimens. Their handle is fixed on the lower part of the neck and the shoulder. The former is high, narrow and its upper part flares considerably. Both look in the Cypriot tradition and their decoration may be a derivation from Cypriot plates<sup>692</sup> (pl.18b). The LG tomb LI at Ialysos bears among its other Cypriot influences, the pilgrim flask<sup>693</sup>. Its funnel-shaped mouth, its ridge where the two handles meet the neck, the curving of the handles themselves and the very low base find a good parallel on a flask from Kyrenia, Cyprus, published in BCH 90(1966) 338, or Styloi, tomb 6:6<sup>694</sup>.

Mound 11 at Tsikalario of Naxos yielded a vase which is

called "amphoriskos" in the publication<sup>695</sup> but it looks like a pilgrim flask and I treat it as such. Its shape looks like the Ialysian specimen just mentioned and that is why I refer to it here. Directly or indirectly, it is influenced from Cyprus. A close parallel in shape is SCEIV:2, Fig.XXXIX:18 of type IV.

The last Rhodian pilgrim-flask is a fragmentary one-handled example with trefoil mouth<sup>696</sup> a feature of the Attic late Protogeometric series as we shall now see.

The evidence from Attica is quite poor. From Salamis we have a sub-Mycenaean one-handled flask<sup>697</sup>. It has a narrow, long, concave neck with flaring lip and handle from rim to shoulder. Its decoration consists of three concentric bands on each side and a carelessly drawn wavy line between the outer and the middle bands. The handle is barred. No context for the vase is mentioned and I do not think we can place it more accurately in the sub-Mycenaean series. Its long neck may be compared to RDAC, 1966, pl.III, 14 (pl.19a).

The second specimen is a two-handled one from Kerameikos<sup>698</sup> tomb 1, which can be assigned to the very beginning of the Protogeometric series. It finds a good parallel in shape to Lapithos, tomb P.74,275<sup>699</sup> (pl.19b). The Lapithos flask has a slightly longer neck above the attachment of the handles, but the distinct lip on both and the curve of the handles show their relationship.

The rest of the Attic flasks are one-handled, very late Protogeometric<sup>700</sup>. One from Marathon may be EGI. There is no

continuity between these vases and the sub-Mycenaean one from Salamis. They have a lentoid body, trefoil-lipped mouth and handle from shoulder to rim. Their decoration consists of bands, circular rows of dog-tooth and a confined cross at the centre. As these flasks are completely isolated phenomenon of the late Protogeometric times, I cannot see any other source for them apart from Cyprus where we have a complete series in the Iron Age.

From Lefkandi, an example with trefoil lip looks <sup>like</sup> Attic influence C.900 B.C.<sup>701</sup>. A second one with two handles attached on the neck a little below the lip does speak of Cypriot influence perhaps also C.900 B.C. We can compare it to SCEIV:2, Fig. XIV:1 although the neck of the Cypriot vase is longer above the attachment of the handles.

Medeon in Phokis offers an example<sup>702</sup> of possibly Geometric times which has a trefoil lip, being thus in the late Protogeometric Attic sphere of influence. Two more from Western Greece are not in the Cypriot tradition. The one from Agrinio<sup>703</sup> with two rows of cross-hatched triangles is rather in the Attic tradition while the other one from Aetos, Ithaka<sup>704</sup> with carelessly modelled neck and handle may be an inspiration from the same source despite the fact that both these western examples have a funnel-shaped mouth instead of a trefoil lip. None of the two need be earlier than 900 B.C.

Summing up we can say that there might be connexions between Cyprus and East Crete in the first half of the 11th century

and central Crete in the Early Orientalizing period and also between Cyprus and Rhodes in the first half of the 9th century and the second half of the 8th. During the latter period there were also connexions with Tsikalario, Naxos. Attica shows connexions with Cyprus in the second half of the 11th century and probably in the first half of the same century and the second half of the 10th. The last instance, however, is quite uncertain. Lefkandi is another Greek district which shows probable connexions in the end of the 10th century. In all the above instances the current was always from Cyprus towards the Aegean.

24. RING VASES - KERNOI

From the very beginning we ought to make a distinction between the ring vases, plain circular vessels with one or two handles, and the kernos which is a circular vase but with other miniature ones and animal or human protomes stuck on it. The former which is called by various scholars "gourd", must hang on something in order to keep the liquids inside while the latter can be placed on any even surface.

In Cyprus miniature vessels, human figures, birds or animals, are found on solid rings supported on strut legs or on the rims of stemmed bowls since ECIII, sometime C.2000 B.C.<sup>705</sup>



In the Aegean, the earliest ones are carved in stone and we can better call them tables of offerings than kernoi<sup>706</sup>. The Melian specimens<sup>707</sup> are also different, as is also true for the one from Koumasa<sup>708</sup>. I do not think that the Cretan or Melian kernoi could inspire the Mycenaean or Minoan ones of the Late Bronze Age. Quite a lot of articles were written on the kernoi<sup>709</sup> but it seems definite that the Mycenaean composite ring vases, or kernoi are inspired from Cyprus.

The kernos from Kourtes<sup>710</sup> is the first real one as we defined the shape. There is a dispute about its dating but I think the acceptance of LMIIIB2c as the date for its manufacture is not far from the truth<sup>711</sup>. The figurines between the vases suggest this<sup>712</sup>. The connexion of the Kourtes kernos and the dancing women fastened on a ring-shaped strap from Palaikastro was pointed out by Xanthoudides and Nilsson accepted it. It seems that they are right as both vessels are connected with the cult of the dead. The dancing ritual for the sake of the dead existed as it is indicated by the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada. In any case I do not think that on the kernos we have such a ritual. One of the women of the kernos, the one with the hands raised to her head, is rather lamenting while the one with the hands on the breast suggests a deity. Very probably, this kernos was found in a tomb.

The best known Mycenaean kernos is perhaps the one in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts<sup>713</sup>. The vases attached on its ring had holes at the bottom, whereby the liquids ran in<sup>to</sup> the

perforated ring. A pierced bull's head on the one side permitted the pouring of libations which was the function of this vessel. There was a twisted basket-handle from the bull's head to the other side of the ring. This was the standard type of the Mycenaean kernos with only minor changes from vase to vase. It was very possibly derived from Cyprus although the bull's head was originally a Mycenaean idea<sup>714</sup>.

From Cyprus we have some more dated in LCIII with a bull's head often found on them<sup>715</sup>, although not always (pl.20a). The tradition of the Bronze Age with vigorous Mycenaean injection, was carried on faithfully into the Iron Age. We have some elaborate specimens from Lapithos, tomb 401<sup>716</sup> and P.74<sup>717</sup> (pl.20b). The first one yielded two kernoi, a WhPI and a WhPII. The type 'I' kernos must belong to the closing stages of CGI as the great majority of the pottery of that tomb was of type II and III. The bull's head is found on both while the WhPI has also a bird and the WhPII a goat's head. The kernos from tomb P.74 has also the bull's head, three skyphoi arranged symmetrically, a basket handle and four knot-shaped legs on which the ring rests. A ring vase with two women's heads (sphinxes?) in addition to the miniature vases on it was assigned by Gjerstad to type III<sup>718</sup>. If it is so, it cannot be much earlier than 750 B.C. Another kernos of type III is in the Pierides' collection. It bears two birds and two amphorai on the ring but the one bird is fragmentary<sup>719</sup> (pl.21a).

The Aegean world did not produce any early Iron Age

kernoi. The most spectacular ones come from Samos. The earliest is ~~rather~~ <sup>probably</sup> of the third quarter of the 8th century<sup>720</sup>. The most elaborate one is dated in the end of the 7th century. In a very curious manner it bears a bull's head, a warrior's head a ram's one, a woman's (sphinx?) head, scallops, cups, a pomegranate, a lion, a frog and a monkey<sup>721</sup>! Some more fragments of the late 8th, early 7th century B.C. were recovered from the Heraion of Samos. I do not think that we can easily dismiss the Cypriot influence on these Samian kernoi, even though no exact parallels can be brought as evidence, to confirm it. After, of course, the first stages, the Samian potter felt quite independent and able to create his own curious kernoi.

The miserable Protogeometric fragments from the cemetery of Kerameikos do not allow us even to distinguish them as ring-vases or kernoi<sup>722</sup>. Among the "Einzelfunde", however, we have a kind of strap ring with incised decoration and six "lip-handled" miniature amphoriskoi resting on it<sup>723</sup>. It belongs to the 8th century and it looks an imitation of a kernos.

The kernoi from Thasos<sup>724</sup> are 7th century and perhaps influenced through Samos. The specimens from Lindos<sup>725</sup> are also of archaic times; the one shown in the text<sup>726</sup>, which is in the British Museum need not be earlier.

The plain ring vases, or gourds, or merely flasks, as they are called sometimes, with one or two handles attached on the neck or on the lip are present throughout the entire Cypro-Geometric period<sup>727</sup>. Their history can go far into the

Bronze Age<sup>728</sup>. In the P.Wh.P. technique we have two types. One which rests on even surface with a tubular, slanting upwards projection and basket handle, similar in a way to the kernos<sup>729</sup>, and another one which we described at the very beginning and must be suspended from somewhere in order to keep its context in<sup>730</sup>.

The first specimen of the suspended form comes from Kerameikos tomb 114<sup>731</sup>, which is very early Protogeometric. It is a miniature vase measuring only 10.1 cm. in height with a handle from lip to shoulder. The handle bears bands. Some lines on the neck are extremely carelessly drawn. On the one side it bears reserved(?) triangles and on the keel cross-hatching. The effect of the triangles is found on the SCEIV:2 Fig V:8 and very probably shape and decoration were influenced from there<sup>732</sup>.

Kerameikos tomb PG 48 gave a second complete example<sup>733</sup>. It has the neck and mouth of a trefoil-lipped oinochoe. Its sole decoration consists of slanting lines on either side of a band giving, thus, the impression of a herring-bone or rather a suitably arranged wreath. Its shape seems to be derived from the same source as the previous one, where the shape was known in its two-handled variety, even though the mouth and the attachment of its handle were different<sup>734</sup>. The rest of the finds in the Athenian tomb suggested influences from Cyprus which we discuss in the appropriate chapters. It is dated in late Protogeometric times.

From Grave A, at Exochi, we have a ring vase with flat



rim and a handle attached on it<sup>735</sup>. From Grave C, we have another one with short neck, flat rim but no handles at all<sup>736</sup>. Both belong to Coldstream's East Greek Late Geometric.

The Early Orientalizing ring vase with flat sides from Ayies Paraskies in Crete<sup>737</sup> with its high foot, flat rim and the handle attached on it, looks very much in the Cypriot tradition. Prof. Platon recognises this only as regards the decoration and he tries to show that the shape survived from LM times but his arguments are not convincing<sup>738</sup>.

The two ring vases published by Johansen (Les Vases Sicyoniens, Roma 1966, pl.VII:4 and VIII:4 pp.43 and 27 respectively) belong to Coldstream's EPC (720-690 B.C.). For decoration we can compare them with GGP, pl.20:g, p.106. The Rhodian specimens from Exochi could be a little earlier, being thus the prototypes for the Corinthian ones.

A similar one comes from Ithaca<sup>739</sup>. It is dated in the 8th century and according to the excavator it is in the Corinthian tradition. Whether it is so or not, the truth is that both the ring vases and the kernoi were at home in Cyprus during the entire Iron Age, so wherever they are found in the Aegean without continuation from the latest Mycenaean phase, they must be regarded as of Cypriot influence.

Summing up, we can say that Cyprus influences Attica in the early and late Protogeometric, Samos in the 3rd quarter of the 8th century, Rhodes in the Late Geometric and Crete along with Corinthia in the late 8th century.

If we look at the Iron Age pottery series of Cyprus, we shall be surprised by the great numbers of plates which make it the most popular of all the vessels. It seems that it accompanied the poor Cypriot in both the course of his present life and the journey into the unknown Hades.

The main decoration of the plates was applied on the base, on the exterior, so that everybody could see it when ~~they were~~ ~~hunged~~ on the walls. All the possible combinations of circles crosses, lozenges, triangles, herring-bones, chequer patterns, composed their decoration. Usually these plates have two loop-handles, plain or knobbed, but there is another type with three. I shall refer to this last one as "tray" for distinction from the previous one. Their base is wide, flat or ringed. In the following discussion I shall refer sometimes to shallow bowls, not exceeding 8 cm. in height, as they mostly bear characteristics of plates, especially in decoration, and vice versa.

The evidence from Attica is very poor, nearly non-existent. We only possess two examples of the Geometric period with double loop-handles<sup>740</sup>, ring foot, flat rim, having as decoration pendent semi-circles and thick or thin bands. The same shape turned up from a royal tomb at Salamis, excavated by the late Prof. Dikaios<sup>741</sup>. Quite surprisingly, the tomb contained a MGII Attic krater, many Attic skyphoi of the same date, skyphoi with pendent semi-circles and the plates in question. We have already discussed the chronological implications of the tomb; we proceed in the examination of the plates which interest

us for the moment. Their differences from the Kerameikos ones are trifling; the main one is the intersecting of some of the semi-circles on the plates of the Salamis tomb, even though well drawn. I think that if this detail is taken into consideration, the Salamis plates must be a little later than the Athenian ones, where the utmost care was taken for the arrangement of the semi-circles. From the evidence we have, it seems that this type of plate originates in MGII Attica<sup>742</sup>, and its whole life was confined to that period only.

Desborough hesitates to give an answer to the question of their origin<sup>743</sup> because if it was Attica, he says, what was the cause of their scarcity there? He gives the answer to the question but then he rejects it again. He says that they were not used as funerary gifts in Athens and he is surprised to find them so used at Salamis. At all events, we must not forget that Salamis is in Cyprus and not in Attica and the practice there, was to put in the tomb numerous plates. And even if the deceased was an immigrant from Attica, a suggestion which is not favoured here, he followed the customs of his new country. Another reason which favours Attica as their country of origin is that the shape of the Cypriot plates is entirely different. As for the decoration, no one could attribute the pendent semi-circles to Cyprus. In the Cyclades or Euboea, places which could claim their patronage, not a single plate of this type was found. But even if we find it in the future, it must antedate the Kerameikos specimens as one of them was stated clearly

by the excavator to be of Attic manufacture.

From Aradippou, in Cyprus, a shallow bowl with similar handles was recovered<sup>744</sup>. It is 7.5 cm. high and 25.5 cm. in diam. It was found in a tomb whose context suggested a date between 825 and 750 according to D.M. Bailey. One of its double-handles was missing. It has a thick lip curving inwards. The Kerameikos plates are lower and their diam. is the  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Aradippou bowl. Their lip is flattened and the decoration is different. On the Cypriot bowl we find only groups of rings and bands. It is in the Black-on-red II(IV) technique. A similar bowl was known, long ago, from Achna<sup>745</sup>, a village twelve miles southwest of Famagusta. Its handles project from the body more than on the Aradippou specimen, thus being closer to the Attic ones but its decoration is very similar to the former. It measures 30.8 cm. in diam.

As both these Cypriot bowls are attributed to type IV, I think that they copied the double handle of the Attic plates. Certainly, this handle existed in Cyprus and we saw it travelling from this island to the Aegean at the very beginning of the Iron Age. However, its placing on such shallow bowls could only be <sup>influenced</sup> ~~impressed~~ by the Attic plates of MGII. If these Attic plates went out of circulation in the end of MGII as we supposed and if we allow 10-20 years to elapse for their imitation, we reach a date for the beginning of type IV between 750-740.

If type IV emerged after 700 B.C. as was claimed by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition we should have a gap of sixty or more



years between the end of the production of these plates in Attica and their imitation in Cyprus. On the other hand, I do not think that they could be kept in circulation in Cyprus for such a long period as sixty years and then be imitated. It seems that Bailey's lower chronological limit is almost correct even though it might well be lowered to 740 B.C. and this is the date accepted here for the beginning of pottery of type IV.

The connexions that Dr Bouzek tries to show between Macedonia and Attica for this special handle are not convincing. Neither is there any connexion with the hand-made pottery that he mentions, (Op. Ath. IX, p. 52:13, No. 92-93) or the non-ceramic prototypes which he puts forward.


The soil of Attica yielded also trays. One of them was found in a context dated by the excavator in the second half of the 10th century and the early 9th<sup>746</sup>. Perhaps none of its vases need be earlier than the last quarter of the 10th century. Two more examples, each one of them mounted on high foot, are possibly early Protogeometric. The earlier of the two is perhaps a fragmentary one in the Agora Museum in Athens (Agora, No. 3967) (pl. 22a), decorated with dog-tooth, bands and rings and a Maltese cross in a reserved circle inside the tray (pl. 22b). Its height is 7.3 cm. The second Attic high-footed tray bears as main decoration a zig-zag and its handles are attached on the lip, while on the previous one they were attached on the sides of the tray. This second tray was connected with the Homeric "kanoun" (CVA Cambridge 1, Gr. Britain 6, pl. 1 No. 13)

and the same connexion was made for an example from Marmariani<sup>747</sup> Thessaly. Another coarse one is known from a Protogeometric context in Athens<sup>748</sup>, with pierced vertical handles and more are reported from Skyros and Eleusis<sup>749</sup>. None of these is earlier than the Cypriot examples<sup>750</sup>, (pl.21b) but still, I do not think that they show any connexions between them. The decoration applied on the Marmariani tray can be paralleled in Cyprus on simple plates with only minor discrepancies<sup>751</sup>, but it is more carelessly drawn in the former district. Before leaving the Marmariani tray, we must refer to its handles which are attached on the lip and not under it, as is the custom in Cyprus. In this respect they are closer to the second Attic footed specimens in Cambridge. Brock published some more from Fortetsa. The earliest one is perhaps EPG. They come from tomb VI (74, 90, pl.5) and the handles are attached on the lip, as on the Marmariani tray. From tomb OD, No.370, pl.25, belongs to PGB times. No.422, pl.37 from tomb X is a Mature Geometric one but here we have the peculiarity of the pierced lug-handles to which we shall refer later.


After this discussion, we cannot speak of any connexions between the various Greek districts and Cyprus. We know that the tray existed in Myc.IIIB-C1 contexts<sup>752</sup> and there may be a link with this period which we lack today. In any case, whether Cyprus influences the Aegean in the Iron Age or whether the preceding Mycenaean period does, which is more probable, we have to wait for more material to come to light and see if it can


elucidate the problem.

The magnificent dish from Exochi<sup>753</sup> is ascribed by Coldstream to his East Greek MG. Its decoration, however, betrays a year of manufacture not earlier than 800 B.C. The dot-rosette is present in the Attic repertoire in MGII. The motif (O) is found on a shoulder-handled amphora<sup>754</sup> and other vessels of MGII. The hatching also of the meander does not change direction after every third or even second limb as it is the practice in MGII in Attica. All these speak in favour of a date in the first half of the 8th century; one could better say early in its second quarter. This tray with the exquisite decoration is lost. Coldstream sees no connexions with Thessaly or Crete<sup>755</sup> for this shape and perhaps he is right. At the same time, I do not think that the tray was an innovation of a potter from Exochi but unless Attica produces a prototype, I am inclined to see Crete as the region of origin for it. As we have mentioned, the latest Athenian tray cannot be lowered below 900 B.C. Fortetsa 370, pl.25, may not be an excellent piece, but as Cyprus ceased making them and Attica shows no traces of their production I think we can regard Crete as the home for the shape of the Exochi tray.

We come now to the examination of the pierced lug-handle. Fortetsa 353, pl.25, offers us an early handle of this type. It is stuck horizontally on the lip and where it is pierced it projects considerably creating a smoothly rising cone  It belongs to PGB' times. The Mature Geometric tray we mentioned



before has each one of its three lug-handles pierced three times  (Fortetsa, pl.31:422).

Similar handles to the Cretan ones come from Athens; one is illustrated in Ker. V1 taf. 15:12. It could be dated C.900 B.C. Another one comes from tomb 75a dated by Coldstream in EGII (Ker.V1 taf.101 inv. 248). It is pierced once only and I presume that this was the prototype for the Cretan ones. Also the shape of this latter one might offer the inspiration for the "returned handle" (-upturned terminals).  Similar pierced lug-handles are found in Cyprus on plates and shallow bowls of type III-IV<sup>756</sup>, and if by the end of the 9th century this handle was out of circulation in Attica, it arrived definitely from Crete<sup>757</sup>.

From Marmariani we have rectangular, pierced handles on the plates Nos 128-129 (BSA 31, pl.VIII). The same type of handle is found on a shallow bowl from Lapithos<sup>758</sup>. It belongs to CGIA and it clearly antedates the Marmariani specimens. A similar handle is found on a Plain White I bowl from Lapithos again<sup>759</sup>. Now, is there any connexion between these two districts? Marmariani is far inland and it makes difficult such a supposition. The decoration, however, has suggested this already, as did the tray to a certain extent, but both were rejected as signs of contact with Cyprus, and it seems that we must also disregard the rectangular lug-handle. The excavators of Marmariani, and Desborough with them, see a Macedonian origin for this handle<sup>760</sup>. It is true that they



are very similar<sup>761</sup> to the Marmariani ones and although we are not certain about their dating it seems more probable to see Macedonia than Cyprus influencing Marmariani.

Summing up the results, we can say that the double loop-handle on some Cypriot shallow bowls of type IV was due to Athenian influence; For the tray we are not sure whether it was a Cypriot influence or a continuation of Myc.IIIC1 tradition in the Aegean area. The pierced lug-handle in its "returned" shape is an Attic or Cretan influence c.800 B.C. or soon afterwards. In the first quarter of the 8th century we have Attic plates exported to Cyprus.

#### IMPORTS

Eight plates, one with simple loop-handles. Discussed by Desborough in AA 1963, cols. 205-208, figs 43-47.

26. KALATHOS

Its shape was known from the Mycenaean IIIC period on. At that time its height varied between 6-16 cm. It was very steep and its upper part was flaring; the base was flat and the rim occasionally flattened; the handles were either horizontal or vertical. As for the decoration, it was very simple, either a coat of paint or some bands<sup>762</sup>.

In Cyprus, the shape was known in LCIIIB. It was very close, in contour, to the Mycenaean ones<sup>763</sup>. (See Nouveaux Documents p. 194.) One from Palaepaphos is in Bichrome technique<sup>764</sup>. It is richly decorated, thus forming a link between the Mycenaean pictorial style and the very poor Iron Age one. It measures 15 cm. in height and 27 cm. in diam. Two more PWhP have only abstract decoration consisting of triangles latticed lozenges and slanting lines<sup>765</sup>. All three kalathoi have flat base, and steep body which flares considerably on the upper part. Their horizontal handles are close to the sides of the vase. The kalathos seen vertically from above hides the handles because of the flaring of the lip. Another one in the Cyprus Museum<sup>766</sup> bears the same characteristics. All these kalathoi are very close to their Mycenaean predecessors.

In CGI they continue with approximately the same shape. Sometimes they acquire a ring foot or even a high conical one<sup>767</sup>. They are called by Gjerstad funnel-shaped bowls. In CGII they are so much changed that they are unrecognisable as kalathoi. In the same period we have the emergence of the open work kalathoi which we shall discuss afterwards.

In Crete the kalathoi from the Spring-Chamber at Knossos<sup>768</sup> are mostly handleless and undecorated. Fig. 69:G has horizontal handles very near to its sides and not projecting beyond the lip. It is hand made, with a narrow ring base. A smaller version of this is turned on a wheel. Fig. 69:R has a middle size conical foot but no handles. The tomb is dated in the sub-Minoan period but we cannot be very precise as to the dating of individual objects.

From Karphi we have the plain, undecorated, handleless type<sup>769</sup>. Two more from Vrokastro are rather Geometric<sup>770</sup>. One of them is decorated with two pendent semi-circles and leaves no doubt about its Geometric character. Its shape is rather influenced from Fortetsa 358 pl.24.

Phaestos is another place with Protogeometric and possibly sub-Minoan kalathoi<sup>771</sup>. Three of them bear a wiggly line between the handles while a fourth one bears slanting lines in groups of five giving the impression of forming triangles. Their handles do not protrude beyond the lip.

In Attica the shape is absent in the sub-Mycenaean and most of the Protogeometric period. They are found only in the late phase of the latter style. They are in the dark ground technique with one or two zones of decoration. Two types are known; the handleless one and the one with a handle from body to lip. The shape survived into Geometric times. Desborough wants it as a straight Mycenaean survival<sup>772</sup> even though its links are still missing but I do not think we can be very

hopeful for such a discovery. In any case, they do not show influence from anywhere.

The two districts where the shape is definitely found in the 11th century <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ Cyprus and Crete. The Cretan specimens are sub-Minoan, the Cypriot are found in LCIII B and CGI without interruption. The handleless variety of the former shows no influence from Cyprus but we cannot say the same for the type with handles close to the sides of the body and hidden when looking at it from above. I regard this type as a derivative from Cyprus. Certainly, a similar vase existed in late Mycenaean-Minoan times<sup>773</sup> but its handles were well projecting from the body. Fig. 69:G from the Spring-Chamber of Knossos which we mentioned before, differs in shape from Lapithos tomb 406:57 because of its ring foot<sup>774</sup>. Nos 14 and 27 from tomb II at Fortetsa<sup>775</sup>, are very near to Lapithos 406:50, 420:51 or P.74 No.31 (pl.23a). The Maltese cross of No.27 can be paralleled on Lapithos 406:36. The same motif on the base of another kalathos from Knossos<sup>776</sup> of PGB times is rather an imitation of contemporary Cypriot plates as the kalathos was out of circulation at that time. Fig. 69:R from the Spring-Chamber can find parallels for its foot on Lapithos tomb P.74:134<sup>777</sup>. The kalathoi from Hogarth's tombs at Knossos are again in the Cypriot tradition and are later<sup>778</sup>, as are those from Phaestos we mentioned before.

The cut-work kalathos, as it is called by E. Smithson<sup>779</sup>, is a curious variety of the one with solid walls. The first



specimens of it, belong to Attic late Protogeometric and they may even antedate the kalathos with solid walls. I think she is right when she regards this accidental. These cut-worked kalathoi seemed to have two tiers of slanting struts separated by a solid ring. Another ring crowned the upper tier. Their decoration consists either of simple lines or dots. Sometimes solid paint is applied on the rings. In some cases, Smithson believes in mathematically symmetrical triangular units in multiples of six or eight for the cuttings. Incisions as guide lines were used mainly in Geometric times.

The earliest cut-work kalathos from Cyprus belongs to type II but I consider it as late in the series. The tomb in which it was found contained pottery of types I-II-III. It is called by Gjerstad basket-shaped bowl<sup>780</sup>. In his diagram of the burials, he registered the vase as of uncertain dating. However, as all the burial strata are assigned by him to CGIII, it seems that our kalathos can hardly, if at all, go beyond CGIIB, as there is no history for the shape. It has only one tier of slanting struts, consisting of triangles<sup>781</sup> and crowned by a solid ring with a horizontal handle. Gjerstad regards it as an imitation of open-work in wood or basketry. The same view is also held by J. Bouzek.<sup>782</sup>

Another open-work kalathos of Bichrome II was discovered in tomb No. 15 at Amathus<sup>783</sup>. Its openings are lozenges and opposed triangles between them. The burial stratum was assigned by Gjerstad to the late CGII, so it is rather contemporary

with the one from Lapithos. The cut-worked kalathos passed into CGIII. It is quite probable that the Cypriot open-work kalathoi were due to influence from Attica in the end of the 10th century B.C.

The specimen from Cos<sup>784</sup>, Serraglio tomb 10, if it is Protogeometric, it had no influence on Cyprus. The kalathos from Exochi<sup>785</sup> or Lefkandi<sup>786</sup> or those from Vrokastro<sup>787</sup> are very clearly derived from Attica. This is manifested if we compare them with CVA Grèce, Ath. Nat. Museum, pl. 6, 10-11 or CVA Mainz 1, pl. 2:1-3.

## 27. HORN-SHAPED VASES

The first vessels of this shape make their appearance in the Early Cypriot period<sup>788</sup> but their production in the Bronze Age seems disrupted in Late Cypriot times. A long interval separates the P.Wh.P. specimens from their predecessors, so Dr Karageorghis has suggested for them a metallic prototype with long tradition of which no examples are known<sup>789</sup>. The difficulty which such a theory encounters is obvious as one is more likely to find complete metal objects than clay ones; still none is known. In any case, the theory of Early Bronze Age origin is also very much weakened by the mere fact of their absence <sup>during</sup> ~~in~~ the <sup>er</sup> ~~greatest~~ part of the Late Bronze Age, as

we have already said, so for the time being we must leave the problem of the origin aside and deal with our proper task, the horn-shaped vases of the Iron Age.

The PWhP specimens are succeeded in the entire CG period by an ~~un~~interrupted series<sup>790</sup>. They usually have flat base, convex-concave body tapering upwards, funnel mouth and a loop-handle on the concave side. There is no standard height for them but they vary between 11 and 30 cm.

From the Aegean, horn-shaped vases turned up from Rhodes and Thera in the Late Geometric period<sup>791</sup>. The shape was unhesitatingly identified by Johansen as of Cypriot origin<sup>792</sup>. One from Exochi is 18.7 cm. high with loop-handle on its convex side and plastic ring on the neck<sup>793</sup>. Its decoration consists of wavy lines and rings, small concentric circles and "hooked" vertical wavy lines on the shoulder. Similar in shape even though with a little more convex upper part is one of the Schlossmuseum, Gotha, in Germany<sup>794</sup>. Its provenance is unknown but it was attributed with some reservation to Cumae. It was dated round 700 B.C. Its height is 15.7 cm.

The example from Exochi is most probably influenced by the horn-shaped vase BCH, 91(1967), 300, Fig.67, from Kapputi, near Morphou in NW Cyprus<sup>795</sup>. It is Plain White III 14 cm. in height. Its loop-handle is on the convex side, an unusual practice in Cyprus<sup>796</sup> but similar to the specimen from Exochi. The similarities, however, do not stop here; as on the Rhodian example there is a plastic ring on the neck, so too with the

specimen from Kapouti, although the latter has three in lieu of one.

Beyond doubt, the Late Geometric Rhodian and Theran horn-vases are due to Cypriot influence.

## 28. OLPE

A vessel with a shorter neck or with none at all, plump body, bold wide trefoil mouth - later, sometimes rounded one - usually baseless although a low, wide ring-foot is rarely used and the handle exceeding the height of the lip before turning down to meet it, is recognised here as olpe<sup>797</sup>.

It emerged in LGII Attica, in other words after 735 B.C.<sup>798</sup> and continued its production in the 7th century when it became quite popular and spread in other parts of the Aegean. It is the least articulated shape of those made for pouring and it was mainly used as a well-dipper according to E. Brann.

In Cyprus, in the CGIII period we have the emergence of a special type of sack-shaped oinochoe; it has plump body, with or without foot, having a slight carination on the shoulder and usually without neck at all. The lip is moulded as a trefoil and the handle protrudes above the lip before it is attached on it. Such a shape continued into the CA period but not beyond. In CAI it was more carinated than in CGIII or CAII,



with low ring-foot and low centre of gravity<sup>799</sup>.

From the description it is clear that the Cypriot vase has certain similarities to the Attic olpe. Comparison of material from the two districts is possible although the similarities are not very close. If we put together SCEIV:2, Fig. XXXIII:18 of type IV and Ker. V<sub>1</sub>, taf.82, Inv. 1320, Gr.51, we see that both are squat, the Cypriot nearly biconical, baseless, the Attic with very low foot. The handle in both is from lip to shoulder. We could also compare SCEIV:2, Fig.XXV:16 with Ker. V<sub>1</sub>, taf. 81, inv. 786, Grab.91. Both have high-swung handles but the body of the Cypriot example is more ovoid than its Attic counterpart. The lip does not merge with the body but it seems that it springs up from it quite sharply and there is also a very low foot. More parallelisms are possible between SCEIV:2, Fig. XXVIII:27 or XXXVIII:21 and Hesp. 30(1961) pl.15 R5, M4, N12. The differences of the Attic examples lie on the wider mouth and the higher centre of gravity.

This is all that we can say. The shape of the olpe which was invented in Attica in LGII has a general but not very exact similarity to a type of Cypriot sack-shaped oinochoe. Whether the Attic olpe was made under Cypriot influence is debatable but not altogether improbable. In fact, I tend to regard it as the likelier hypothesis as the Attic potter could be inspired by external prototypes, even though not copying them, but simply transforming the shapes to his own tastes. This is perhaps what happened here.

Such vessels are well known from prehistoric times onwards; we encounter them at Troy<sup>800</sup>, Early Bronze Age Cyprus<sup>801</sup> and other cultural areas<sup>802</sup>. In the Geometric period of Cyprus we have a hydria from Kaloriziki of Bich.II with a human face on the neck<sup>803</sup> and many more vases in the same tradition are CAI. The Late Bronze Age examples are rather in a different vogue as there is an effort on the part of the potter to create an "anthropomorphic" vase than simply sketching or moulding a face on its neck<sup>804</sup>. A bottle which turned up recently at Salamis is probably in the spirit of this epoch as it looks like a slender human body but at the same time it has a human face added on its neck which is something new and the idea may come from elsewhere. The bottle belongs to 1050 B.C. or slightly earlier;<sup>805</sup> the modelled face is apparently a woman's one. A "polos" is indicated in paint, bearing decoration of triangles, and a pendant is shown fastened round the neck. This face looks more like a mask attached to the neck of the vase<sup>806</sup>. (pl.28b).

Similar technique is known from Karphi in the late 12th century. A mask is modelled on the neck of a vase<sup>807</sup> and I regard this as the source of influence for the Salaminian bottle. We thus have an additional link between Cyprus and Crete and in particular Karphi.

As we have said, we encounter this technique once only in the Geometric period, on a Bich.II hydria from Kaloriziki, (pl.12b) and the next examples are CAI. A connexion between the two

periods must exist but for the moment no known vase can bridge the gap. The gap is also unbridged between the PWhP bottle of Salamis and the CGII hydria. The CA examples have the faces partly modelled, partly painted<sup>808</sup>.

This category of Cypriot vases had an influence on various Greek regions afterwards. This influence is at first felt in Rhodes<sup>809</sup> and then in Samos and Crete. Coldstream has made comparisons<sup>810</sup> of the Cypriot CVA Br. Mus. 2, IIC, c, pl. 13, 11 and of an oinochoe from Ialysos grave LVIII. We have discussed the Ialysian grave in connexion with an oinochoe and we saw that it belongs to C.730 B.C.<sup>811</sup> In this tomb there were two more oinochoai with human faces, all published by Papapostolou<sup>812</sup>. Coldstream tries to show that some features of these vases betray Semitic characteristics; I wonder, however, whether this is so or whether it is merely the by-product of the crudity of the modelling. Ialysos graves LV and LVI enrich the series with two more examples. The one from the former grave has breasts and arms plastically rendered, the one from the latter - a globular flask - could be compared to SCEIV:2 Fig. XXIX:11, which is a side-spouted jug. From the temple of Athena at Ialysos we have another oinochoe with a human face and the Rhodian group grows more numerous, considering the lid of a high-handled pyxis from Lindos, now in Lund<sup>813</sup>.

Examining the material from Samos, we find plastic faces on the necks of amphorai<sup>814</sup>. True enough, they are not exactly similar to Cypriot examples but still, I believe that they

derive from these latter. The Samian examples, all of them of C.700 B.C. and afterwards, have a sort of mask attached on their necks and even though the technique is not matched so well in Cyprus there can be little doubt about the source of this curiosity. This assumption becomes clearer if we have a look <sup>at</sup> ~~en~~ the Cypriot vases in RDAC, 1968, pl.IX or Schiering, JdI 79 (1964) p.11, Abb.14<sup>815</sup>.

Samos yielded a specimen of a sack-shaped vase with a human head in the place of the neck. There is only one example; it is early 7th century and it is 12.4 cm. high. The framing of the face by a continuous semi-circular ridge from ear to ear over the forehead, recalls somehow the flask from Ialysos grave LVI. At all events, it can easily be compared to SCEIV:2, Fig. XXXIX:21 which is also a sack-shaped vase but with the human modelling far superior<sup>816</sup>.

A hydria from Boeotia now in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin, bears signs of immediate Samian rather than Cypriot influence. It is of sub-Geometric period. It is 17 cm. high; the lower part of the body is decorated with bands, and the upper one with wavy lines<sup>817</sup>.

A hydria from Kourtes (JdI, 79 (1964), 9, Abb.12), which is not securely dated, bears big triangles on the shoulder resting on three bands. Below the horizontal handles two more bands are painted. On the neck there is a plastically rendered nose and the eyes are indicated in colour. We are ~~rather~~ confronted with a Cretan imitation of Cypriot prototypes.



From the above discussion it seems that Cyprus borrowed the clay modelling of human faces on vases from Crete in the early 11th century. A somewhat similar tradition was current in Late Bronze Age Cyprus and it is on this series that the Cretan influence was probably exerted. In CGI and III there are no definite examples but we have one of CGII date. The bulk of the material is CAI, in other words it belongs to the second half of the 8th century and afterwards. This kind of vase is also unknown in the Geometric period of the Aegean. When they re-emerged thereafter c. 730 B.C. in Rhodes, Crete and Samos, they are due to Cypriot influence. On the other hand, Boeotia is directly influenced from Samos in the 7th century.

### 30. BIRD VASES

The vessels in the shape of birds, however conventional, are widespread in Cyprus and the Aegean world in the course of the Iron Age period. Generally, when such vases are found in Greece, they are attributed to Cypriot influence even though recently some archaeologists try to see a Cretan source of inspiration for a certain type of them<sup>818</sup>.

Here, a brief retrospective view <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ the history of the vase in the past is not unnecessary. In the Aegean, the bird vases made their appearance as early as the last phase of the

Early Bronze Age, if not earlier. From Lebena in Crete we have two specimens<sup>819</sup> which belong to EMIII or even EMII times.

The one published in the BCH is perhaps the first real bird vase but its head? is missing, so we cannot be sure if it is a bird vase or an askos. The second one has small conventional wings, three small knobs as feet but only a spout instead of a bird's head.

From the Cyclades, from Tenos<sup>820</sup>, a bird askos has been known since 1946. It is hand made, red burnished, with ring base, very short tail and a basket handle from the back to the lip of the spout. No date was stated for it in the publication. It was simply called prehistoric. At all events, a new hand-made bird vase turned up from the Cyclades, this time from Koufonisi<sup>821</sup>. It was found near a tomb of ECyc. times and it was described by the excavator as part of the tomb's furniture. It is 125 cm. high and 20 cm. long. It has a basket handle, a bird's head and a ring base. It is also covered all over with a brownish slip. In which sub-division of ECyc it belongs, it is not stated. However, it needs not be earlier than ECII at the earliest. The excavator claims it alien, as it is, according to him, unknown in the Cyclades. As its probable source he sees Crete<sup>822</sup>. Now, <sup>whether</sup> if this is so, I very much doubt. In fact, it seems to me that the reverse movement took place, as the Cycladic bird vase is the most advanced in type and we have no clear indication of context to <sup>date</sup> ~~ascribe~~ it chronologically after the Cretan ones. It looks rather somewhat earlier. At

the same time, I do not think that it is alien to Cyclades. After all, in this early period we have only two specimens from Crete<sup>823</sup> and two from the Cyclades. The specimen from Tenos is perhaps contemporary or a little after the one from Koufonisi because on both we have the ring base, a sign of relative relation in shape and time. We also have a similarity between the Cretan bird vase published in the BCH and the one from Koufonisi. The placing of the handle and especially its curve show such affinities, as if the same man has made both.

In the Middle Bronze Age, no bird vases are known from Cyclades. From the mainland Greece we have two matt-painted bird askoi<sup>824</sup>. The one from Eutresis<sup>825</sup> is 13.8 cm. high and 18.5 cm. wide, rather odd analogies.

In the early Mycenaean times we have a footless askos with basket handle and wide spout<sup>826</sup>. If it imitates a bird, it is really a very, very conventional imitation. The predecessors of this shape are to be sought in the Minyan ceramic series<sup>827</sup>.

If we, now, turn to Cyprus, it is beyond doubt that this island has a long history in the manufacture of bird vases<sup>828</sup>.

They made their first appearance in Middle Cypriot times, but no strict rules were followed for their shapes and much depended on the mood of the individual potter. His effort was to create a vessel for ritual purposes even though we

cannot exclude the possibility that they were simply decorative vessels<sup>829</sup> or children's toys, especially in the Iron Age period.

At any rate, the emergence of them in MC times and their existence already in the Aegean, suggest an introduction of the shape from there. Certainly, birds, animals, etc. occurred on the lips of big vessels in the EC period<sup>830</sup> but I do not think we have an evolution from them. On the other hand, connexions with the Aegean and especially Crete are not entirely lacking from C.2000 B.C., namely the beginning of MC so, such a supposition is not unfounded<sup>831</sup>. Indications of these connexions are shown by a MMI vase discovered in a Lapi-thos tomb<sup>832</sup>.

The bird vases are thus fairly common in MC<sup>833</sup> but the evidence is not convincing for LC apart from its closing stage. Prof. Gjerstad thinks that there was a possibility of their being manufactured down to LCIIB, namely 1300-1230 B.C. If this is so, then the link between the PWhP specimens and LCIIB is to be found on the bird vase 1935/XII-24/2 of the Cyp. Mus.<sup>834</sup> (pl.23b) and there is no need to look abroad for a re-introduction of the shape, as Åkerström <sup>suggests</sup> ~~says~~ and Gjerstad agrees<sup>835</sup>. At any rate, Gjerstad's argument is not convincing as none of the bird vases of Bronze Age White Painted Ware, were found in datable contexts so, even though the vases in question belong to this technique, nobody can be sure that they were made till its final stage in LCIIB. If there was



any stoppage in their production in Cyprus, it took place in LCIIA, namely 1400-1300 B.C. When the first Mycenaean specimens made their appearance in Greece<sup>836</sup>.

Here we refer to a tomb from Onisia, north of Nicosia in Cyprus, where a bird asked with four legs and long spout was found<sup>837</sup>. Dr Karageorghis wants it <sup>as</sup> Mycenaean, and it is shown side by side with a stirrup-jar which need not be earlier than MycIIIB.

At all events, if this interval in the production of bird vases in Cyprus took place, it was short, as we have already seen from the elegant bird vase of the Cyprus Museum, but significant, as they do not show any more dependence on Middle Cypriot forms<sup>838</sup>. Thence, it is probable that the break in the production of the bird vases in Cyprus took place, only to be resumed after c.150 years. Apart from the specimen of the Cyprus Museum, which we have already quoted twice and which is dated most probably c.1200 and is Mycenaean in technique, the first great abundance of the bird vases in Cyprus occurred in the P.Wh.P. technique, in other words from c.1100 B.C. onwards. The absence of them in the 12th century must be interpreted as bad luck and not as cessation of production. That this is so, is now confirmed by the discovery of a bird vase of the second half of the 12th century by Dikaïos at Enkomi<sup>839</sup> (pl.24a).

Here, a brief mention of Achaia is not unnecessary. In LHIIIC contexts bird vases were found<sup>840</sup> of a very advanced

type but as other scholars mentioned<sup>841</sup> they did not have any effect on the Cypriot specimens due to the isolation of the region. They only indicate a common source but nothing more than that. If, however, Achaia was completely isolated, it is a matter we shall discuss afterwards.

Turning back to the Cypriot material of C.1100 B.C. onwards, we shall try to elucidate its connexions with the Aegean world. But first of all, a classification of the specimens available is necessary. Mrs Pieridou has done very good work on this matter, and we can adopt it here. She distinguishes at first the bird shaped prochoi with or without knobbed legs<sup>842</sup>, and the bird shaped rhyton, again with or without knobbed legs. She derives the second from mid-eleventh century and considers it local variation of the general bird-shape, while the first category is, according to her, a little earlier and shows influence from Crete. We retain her terms "prochus" and "rhyton" and we proceed to discuss the implications of the influence and see if it is really from Crete to Cyprus. A definition, however, of her terms is necessary before anything else is said. "Prochus" is a bird-shape with a basket handle and a tube on the front to pour liquids. Sometimes a bird's head is present there without any functional purpose, and the tube is moved in the middle of the back. The "rhyton" on the other hand bears the tube on its back but at the same time there is a head from which the liquids can be poured out.

The first specimens from Cyprus date from C.1100 B.C.

onwards, and one from Enkomi<sup>843</sup> (pl.24a) is even of the second half of the 12th century.

Here I quote some of the earliest specimens:

1. Prochus: CVA Cyprus II, Private Collections, Pl.35: 4,5. It is LCIIIB, P.Wh.P. Oblong body, ridge on the middle of the back and a basket handle on it. Projecting spout but the rim is missing. It has a high conical base which reminds us of CVA Cyprus I, Pl. 34:1. The decoration consists of elaborate and latticed triangles, vertical rows of chevrons and bands. The handle is barred. Height 12 cm. Length 14.3 cm.
2. Prochus: CVA Cyprus II, Private Collections, pl.35:6. Similar to the above one, but with four short legs. The projection with the funnel mouth is preserved. The decoration has mainly flaked off. LCIIIB, P.Wh.P. Height 10.5 cm., length 17 cm. (pl.24b).
3. Prochus: RDAC, 1965, pl.X, p.81 P.Wh.P. Funnel-shaped mouth. Three short legs. Decoration of bands and wavy lines. Barred handle. Height 8 cm., length 13 cm.

Curiously enough, only one P.Wh.P. specimen of the rounded base variety is known<sup>844</sup> which is regarded the earliest. The

second one we have of this type has a conventional bird's head instead of a spout<sup>845</sup>. The latter is placed on its "back". Its decoration consists of cross-hatched lozenges, bands and strokes. Barred handle. Height 12 cm., length 18.5 cm.

For the second category we can mention the following "rhyta":

1. Rhyton: RDAC, 1967, 9 pl.III, No.41, Fig. 10 LCIIIIB, PWhP. Its characteristics are, oblong body, long neck, tubular beak, double ribbed basket handle, three fairly high pointed legs and a spout terminating in funnel rim behind the handle. The decoration consists of chequer pattern, cross-hatched oblique lines and bands. Barred handle. Height 12 cm., length 17 cm. (pl.25a).
2. Rhyton: RDAC, 1967, 8, pl.III No.39, Fig.10 LCIIIIB  
It is a striking specimen because it is the first vessel of Bichrome technique to emerge so early. It has a boat-shaped body, conical foot, two short plastic wings, ridge on the back and a basket handle on it, with tubular spout behind it. It is decorated with narrow panels of cross-hatched lozenges and hatched triangles. Strokes on ridge and handle. Height 14 cm., length 20 cm. (pl.25b)



Up to now, no rhyton with rounded base of this period was found. It is even missing from CGI. The first paradigms we have, are from CGII. One from Tamassos<sup>846</sup> has plastic wings and tail, a tubular funnel-shaped spout, and a basket handle. Triangles, cross-hatched lozenges and bands compose the decoration. It is in the Bichrome II technique. Height 13 cm., length 24 cm.

From what we mentioned, it is obvious that the type with legs antedates the legless one. A prochus with rounded base but with the projection missing was found in the tomb, Kourion 26A<sup>847</sup>. This one may belong to a time C.1050 or perhaps a little earlier but I doubt if it can antedate the specimens with legs we mentioned. It may antedate the other one found by Daniel<sup>848</sup> but not ours. Between the "prochus" and the "rhyton" it seems that there were no chronological differences. For the moment both seem to be contemporary.

The production of the prochus continued in the CG period; we have already seen the acquisition of a non-functional head by it even though the standard type with the tubular mouth on the forepart was not altogether banished. In the CGIII and CAI period the type continues but the mouth, instead of being funnel-shaped, was pinched creating a trefoil-lip<sup>849</sup> (pl.26a, b). The variety with legs shows a new aryballeid form in CAI. The mouth here is still funnel-shaped, but sometimes the trefoil-lip is not unknown.

The legless rhyton had no changes in CG or CA times.

Its formal shape with the distinct head, the basket handle and the tubular funnel mouth between them, covers nearly four hundred years. The rhyton with legs has no fixed place for the tubular funnel-mouth; sometimes it is behind and sometimes in front of the handle; it is not strange to see it dividing the handle in two. In CGIII a new variety appears with only one known specimen<sup>850</sup>. It has short, bulky, cylindrical body, big basket handle and short plastic tail. Its outline is not pleasing at all. In CAI the type is entirely abandoned in favour of the pigeon's shape, copied faithfully from nature by the Cypriot potter.<sup>851</sup>

From Crete, a good number of bird-shaped prochoi is known; the earliest specimens we know belong to sub-Minoan times. The oldest one is perhaps the one found at Karphi<sup>852</sup>. It has three short, knobbed like feet, tubular funnel-mouth, barred basket handle and its decoration consists of alternating diagonals. Contemporary with this, or a little later, may be two from Vrokastro<sup>853</sup> one from the Spring Chamber at Knossos<sup>854</sup> and one from Kavousi<sup>855</sup>. The bird vase from tomb VI at Fortetsa<sup>856</sup> is rather the latest in the series. The Vrokastro and Knossos vases resemble in shape the one from Karphi. Legs, handle, mouth are similar, even though the Knossos one has the projection missing<sup>857</sup>. The Kavousi specimen has a flattened base but no legs while the one from tomb VI has a similar base but the rim is missing.

Transitional from sub-Minoan to Protogeometric is the

only known rhyton of this time. It comes from Hogarth's tomb<sup>858</sup>. Its head rests on a long neck and the tubular funnel is behind the basket handle on the extreme end of the vase. Its legs are fairly high.

These are the earliest Cretan bird vases. They are partly contemporary with the Cypriot ones or they are later. I cannot find any continuation from Mycenaean times, so they must be introduced from somewhere and I think their source, was Cyprus. There is no support to regard them as of Minoan origin (859) as we cannot establish a continuation of their production nor, I think, must we regard the legless variety as earlier than the type with legs<sup>860</sup>. The opposite may happen because the shape travels from Cyprus where the procedure is first with legs then legless. The two types ran side by side and perhaps they were introduced at the same time in Crete. Apart from Hogarth's tomb rhyton, the other specimens are rather crudely manufactured, while the Cypriot ones are more carefully made and in great numbers. Naturally the strongest and by far more numerous is the originator so we can say with certainty that the type arrived from Cyprus to Crete at the beginning, if not later, of the eleventh century<sup>861</sup>.

The Karphi and Vrokastro examples are easily compared with the prohus CVA Cyprus 2, Private Collections, pl.35:6 (pl.24b). True enough, the vases of the two regions are probably contemporary but as we have seen that in Crete there is no continuation from the previous period we are justified in

looking to Cyprus as the source of origin. The knobs also of these prochoi which are used as feet are seen on the Enkomi example of the second half of the 12th century, which definitely antedates the Cretan material (pl.24a).

A second prochus from Kavousi<sup>862</sup> of unknown dating rests on a single high flaring foot like the one seen on the Bichrome rhyton from Palaepaphos (pl.25b). If it is really influenced from Cyprus then it is sub-Minoan of mid-11th century date.

We continue now with material from the rest of the Aegean of a little later times. From the nekropolis at Lefkandi we have two bird vases (rhyta?) of the transitional LHIIIC to Protogeometric times<sup>863</sup>. One rests on three feet and its handle terminates on the rim of the tubular projection of the bird's back. The decoration consists of bands and hatched triangles. No exact parallel is known from Cyprus but it is manufactured in the Cypriot tradition. The closest in shape is a fragmentary one attached on a PWhP kernos<sup>864</sup> (pl.20a).

We can parallel its beak with one of a bird vase from the tomb at Palaepaphos. The triangles filled with slanting lines on the Lefkandi specimen can be paralleled on another one from the same tomb at Palaepaphos but I do not think this is important because the motif is known in many regions in LHIIIC times. The detail of the beak must be considered as the decisive factor for detecting the influence in this case. The second example rests on a relatively high flaring foot like



the one seen on a Palaepaphos specimen (pl.25a) and the influence is from Cyprus on Lefkandi. A third example from Lefkandi of LPG stands on two feet<sup>866</sup> which are seen on a PWhP one from Cyprus<sup>867</sup>. Despite their separation by more than a century it seems that Cyprus exerted influence on Lefkandi also in the late 10th century.

Of mid-11th century or a little later is the specimen from Assarlik<sup>868</sup>. Its projection is missing (head of a bird?) and the tubular funnel took the shape of a cup. The latter is unparalleled in Cyprus on bird-vases but it is a common feature on kernoi with bull's protomes. The bird vase from Rhodes<sup>869</sup> is Protogeometric at the earliest and it looks in the Cypriot tradition. The context in which it was found confirms this. To the late Protogeometric times are ascribed some fragments of bird vases from Skyros<sup>870</sup>. Their peculiarity is the black spotted snakes entwined round them, a custom not found elsewhere.

The bird-vases from Cos are early MG and they show peculiarities in the way they attach the handle on the body and in the absence of the tubular projections on most of them<sup>871</sup>. Some LPG examples from the same island are referred to by Coldstream<sup>872</sup>. The surprising fact is that in MG they manufacture double or triple bird-vases fixed together and supported by a single, high conical foot.

The bird-vase from Tsikalario in Naxos<sup>873</sup> is unique with its high base, long throat and rather long tail. No tubular

projection is present. It belongs to LG times.

Another bird-vase of the late 8th century comes from Samos<sup>874</sup>. Its elongated body and disproportionately small head, indicate a non-experienced hand in its manufacture. Very probably, it is an independent creation of a Samian potter working in a Cypriot influence.

The region of Attica deserves closer attention. From a very early Protogeometric tomb we have a bird vase<sup>875</sup> whose similarity with those from Achaia<sup>876</sup> is striking. It has the same baggy shape supported on three legs. There is a tubular funnel-mouthed projection and a handle joins it under the lip on the middle of the bird's back. It can best be paralleled with No.43 from Achaia. Both have a deep rounded chest and belly and also the angular transition from chest to throat is similar. Even the splaying of the front feet is the same on both. The solid triangles of the Athenian vase are not absent from the Achaian one. Its horizontal row of chevrons is paralleled on No.46 and on both, short strokes are present. The Athenian, thus, specimen is a rather good copy of an Achaian prototype. It is 10.7 cm. high and 17.4 cm. long. In 1968 another bird-vase turned up from Athens, from a grave found in Erechthion street<sup>877</sup>. It is stated to be sub-Mycenaeen and again, I think, the prototype must be sought in Achaia. Its baggy shape, the attachment of the handle and the general outline suggest Achaia for inspiration.

From what we have said it is quite clear that the

isolation of Achaia was not so strict and that the LHIIIC period of that region was contemporary with sub-Mycenaean and perhaps the first Protogeometric stages of Attica.

From Attica again, we have an early Protogeometric bird vase<sup>878</sup> decorated in the current Attic fashion with semi-circles having solid cores<sup>879</sup>. It rests on three legs. There is a hole at the back but the front projection which might be a bird's head is missing. There is a basket handle. Approximate length 25.5 cm. This vase, strangely enough, is not in the Achaian sphere of influence. Its body is more elongated and looks rather Cypriot in outline. It is the latest of the three Attic specimens and perhaps up to thirty years, if not more, could separate it from Willemsen's one.

Finally, we have some specimens from Athens, published in Ker. <sup>#</sup>VI which deserve some attention. In the pl. 144 a bird resembling a cock is represented; it is more advanced than the contemporary Cypriot examples and it certainly owes nothing to the Protogeometric ones from the same cemetery or to its Aegean and Cypriot counterparts. Only the idea comes perhaps from Cyprus; the creation is wholly Attic. It is dated C.750 B.C. The bird prochoi in pl. 145 are closer to Cypriot prototypes (cf. pl. 26 a-b). The trefoil-lip of their projection speaks of a Cypriot influence<sup>880</sup> but their naturalistic legs and the double curve of the handle have overdone their Cypriot prototypes. The inv. 1351 and 1352 are in pairs while 1350 is single and has two side handles, probably in imitation

of wings. They were manufactured c. 720 B.C. but some earlier ones of mid-8th century are also known from Athens<sup>881</sup>, while Rhodes shows an example from Massari-Malona of the second half of the 9th century<sup>882</sup>. The Cypriot bird "trefoil-lipped" proechus made its appearance in CGIII and continued into CAI, a certain indication that the source of the Athenian and Rhodian specimens was Cyprus.

Turning back to Crete we find more bird vases of the LPG and PGB roughly speaking of the 9th century. The two "rhyta" from tomb L at Fortetsa<sup>883</sup> are more advanced than their Cypriot counterparts, especially No. 277 with the integrated, on its tail, vase. A similar one comes from Kourtes<sup>884</sup> and it must belong to the same time. I do not think that there is any connexion of these vases and the one from Assarlik with the "cup" on its tail, as they are separated by a considerable length of time. It seems that it is a Cretan innovation, perhaps with an impulse from the "composite" ring vases of Cyprus<sup>885</sup>. The bird "rhyton" from tomb "P" at Fortetsa<sup>886</sup> whose head is missing might copy a Wh.P.II specimen from Cyprus<sup>887</sup>. From the same cemetery comes the vase No. 354, resting on a conical foot and having a vessel at its back near the tail<sup>888</sup>. No parallel is known from Cyprus. Some analogies with the latter island are shown by the bird vase No. 1353<sup>889</sup> and the SCE IV, 2, Fig. XXIV:7. The beak, feet and tail of the Cretan bird are more advanced and it is rather Early Orientalizing<sup>890</sup>. More bird vases are known from Arkades<sup>891</sup> of probable LG-EO date.



Summing up, we see that the oldest source of the bird vases was the Cyclades. From there, they travelled to Crete and afterwards, at the beginning of the second millennium, they were spread to Cyprus where they gained popularity. In the Aegean, we have very few evidences in the Middle Bronze Age and it looks very probable that the shape was reintroduced there in Mycenaean times. Strangely, their production in Cyprus ceased for a time during the middle of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age. In the Iron Age they are again manufactured in Cyprus, where their popularity was great throughout the entire epoch. Their constant production down to the end of the period was a source of inspiration for the Aegean world. The Cretans borrowed the idea in sub-Minoan times, and tried to compete with their Cypriot colleagues. In the LPG and PGB' period, namely the 9th century, they even surpassed them. The bird vases inspired also the early Protogeometric potters of Assarlik and Euboea but without continuity. In Attica we only have isolated examples; their production was never rooted there and even their first imitations were of Achaian inspiration. The Protogeometric example from Kerameikos has nothing interesting and it is inferior to the inspiring prototypes. Exactly the opposite happens in the four specimens of the third quarter of the eighth century. They are by far more elegant than the Cypriot ones. Special attention is needed for the Dodecanese; they started their production in the Protogeometric times and they continued after the closing stage of the

Geometric period. The theory that the bird vases travelled from Cyprus to the Aegean only in the Late Geometric and Early Orientalizing period<sup>892</sup> is not supported by the material evidence. The current was constant since sub-Minoan times with perhaps an interval during the first three quarters of the tenth century.

### 31. CENTAUR

Under this name we shall discuss figurines and representations of the well known monster of the Greek mythology which is half human, half horse.

The first example of the Greek Dark Age of this curious creature was discovered quite recently at Lefkandi in Euboea. It was published jointly by Desborough, Popham and Nicholls<sup>893</sup>. What will be said here about it, will be but a brief summary of what they have said. It was broken in antiquity in two pieces and each one of them interred in a different tomb. The date of the centaur probably falls in the fourth quarter of the 10th century. It was 36 cm. high and 26 cm. long. Missing today are the tail, the left arm from below the shoulder and an object which was carried on the shoulder and only traces survive. The legs and the human part were solid; the animal part was a hollow, wheel-made cylinder. The human abdomen is pierced by

a small hole and another smaller hole is found on the back of the horse. Both holes, of course, were left deliberately so that the gases developing inside during its firing in the kiln were left outside. Its eyes were punched out while the clay was still soft; generally the face was quite naturalistic. In the eyes' cavities there was perhaps a foreign substance. The mouth is a simple groove and nostrils and ears are pierced; a groove is also present all round the periphery of the head. The front legs look more human, the hind legs more equine. There are no genitals but undoubtedly a male figurine is represented. The centaur is made of fine clay.

The decoration of the human torso consists of a simple cross-hatched design, while on the animal body there are zig-zags, dog-tooth and solid opposed triangles confining white lozenges.

Another quadruped discovered with the centaur had also body turned on a potters' wheel, something indicating familiarity with such a practice at Lefkandi. Its height is 14 cm. and the length 21<sup>894</sup>.

Real centaurs, however, are not known during Protogeometric times or earlier in the Aegean. The earliest Greek centaur we have is the one from Lefkandi just described. Some figurines from Crete and Cyprus of the late, Late Bronze Age with animal's body and human head and neck but not torso, have little association with the Lefkandi centaur<sup>895</sup>. The only connexion is in terms of technique, because of the wheel-made construction of the animal's body<sup>896</sup>.

What interests us here is the idea of the centaur; Where did it originate? What role did Cyprus play, if it played any at all, in the dispersion of this idea?

In the Bronze Age Aegean there is only one instance when we probably have a centaur depicted on a prism-seal from Crete<sup>897</sup> of around 2000 B.C. It is an ambiguous case<sup>898</sup> and, if it really is an original one, it had no continuity.

The idea of the centaur originates rather in the N. East (899). On a Babylonian kudurru of Meli-Shipak<sup>900</sup> of the first quarter of the 12th century, we have a monster with horse's body and human torso but it bears also wings, springing up from the place where human and animal bodies are joined together, and two tails, the horse's natural one and one more, curving upwards and supposed to be that of a scorpion. On a cylinder seal<sup>901</sup>, roughly contemporary with the kudurru, we have exactly the same creature but this time the horse's tail was omitted. This is very probably the monster which inspired the Greek centaur. Certainly, it was in the general Assyrian tradition of monsters with animal and human bodies<sup>902</sup> but surely horse and man together were crystallised now, although some other features like the wings and the scorpion's tail were attributed to the new creation. This combination was not favoured by the Greeks who discarded the last two features keeping only the horse's body and human torso.

From a 10th century context in Cos, we have a bird vase which, instead of terminating to a bird's head, bears human body, shown from the abdomen upwards. It cannot be a centaur



in the true sense of the word but it is by no means unrelated to the idea of it<sup>903</sup>.

If we turn to Iron Age Cyprus, we have ample evidence from Ayia Irini<sup>904</sup>. The early examples are crude, with cylindrical bodies, short legs, male or female characteristics indicated, sometimes even combined on the same centaur; the arms are usually projecting forward or upward and snakes wind on body and head. The later ones are more advanced technically. They were divided by Gjerstad in 3 types. Type 1, was present in Ayia Irini periods two and three; type 2 in periods four and five and type 3 in period four. Their chronology cannot be estimated very precisely. Centaur No.2031 (pl.27a) belongs to Ayia Irini, period 2. It is a very unbalanced creature having a human torso bigger than the animal's body. To the same period belongs No.2044 whose animal body is attached on the entire human torso instead of on its lower part. To period 3 belong Nos 1620, 1690, 1775, 2320 and 2376. Out of these five only the second and fourth are nearly complete. Period 4 has one complete, No.2340, one fragmentary, No.2350, and two fragments Nos 2328 and 2373. To period 4 belongs also No.1122 (pl.27b) which is Gjerstad's type 3. Finally, period 5 was represented only by No.2101 modelled with human forelegs, beard, band on head with two snakes on it and a short tunic from shoulders to hips marked in relief. Body and legs were wheel-made. It is the highest example we have, due perhaps to technical advances. It measures 63.9 cm. in height. In the other periods

their size is as follows:

Period 2: Shortest example 13.5 cm. Biggest 32.3 cm.

Period 3: Shortest example 17.5 cm. Biggest 45.2 cm.

Period 4: Shortest example 14 cm. Biggest 43 cm.

Their chronology, as we have said, cannot be estimated very accurately because of the nature of the objects. If, as it is generally accepted, were adorants or attendants of the deity worshipped there, they could be used for a long time being constantly in favour even after destruction and re-erection of the temple<sup>905</sup>. At any rate, here we shall date them according to the respective strata where they were discovered. Period 1 in which no example was attributed belongs to the Late Bronze Age, LCIII according to Gjerstad<sup>906</sup>, LCIIIC according to Miss Taylor<sup>907</sup>. The sanctuary was in use down to the Archaic period but it seems that in CGI-II it was not very frequented and probably there was a period of abandonment in the early CGI. Period 2 was represented with a rather thin layer where sherds of CGI-II and many of CGIII were represented. The latter were in majority immediately below the stratum of period 3. Where exactly in this layer the centaurs were discovered is not indicated. The absence of a layer with purely type I pottery shows that the restoration of the temple as a place for worship took place in the end of CGIB at the earliest<sup>908</sup>. Period 3 is not stratigraphically secure. It is divided in two sub-phases. Period 3A contained sherds of type III, few I-II and stray IV, while period 3B had a decreasing number of III and increase of

IV with stray sherds of I-II. Period 4 contained stray sherds of type III, a majority of type IV and a few type V. From this distribution of the pottery we can attempt to fix the absolute dates which could be as follows:

Period 1. 1220 - 1075

Desertion

Period 2. 1000? - 850

Period 3. 850 - 720

Period 4. 720 - 660.

Centaur, as we have said, were discovered in Periods 2, 3 and 4. Period 2 yielded only two specimens; periods 3 and 4 yielded five apiece. This means that probably those of period 2 ought to be pushed in its second half. At all events, the beginning of their manufacture may fall after 950 B.C.

The existence of the centaur at such an early date is corroborated by the fact that we have the monster painted on the base of a Black-Slip-Painted plate now in the Louvre<sup>909</sup>. This category of pottery is virtually present in types I-II<sup>910</sup>, so the plate in question could be of any date between 1075 - 875. Unfortunately there is no secure criterion on which to decide its chronology. E. Pottier who published it in the CVA mentions that the colour is matt and the flutes irregular, characteristics which point to type II. The animal's body of the centaur cannot be attributed with certainty to any animal. It has the two tails curving upwards and towards its back, reminding us thus of the scorpion-tail of the winged centaurs of

Babylonia-Assyria. In its right hand, it holds a stylised branch, characteristic of the Greek centaur in much later periods.<sup>911</sup> The plate is 2 cm. high and 12 cm. in diam.

If we come to compare the Cypriot centaurs from Ayia Irini with the one from Lefkandi we observe no particular similarities. The use of the wheel in both districts is perhaps inherited from the Late Bronze tradition of the manufacture of animals. The placing of the hands on the Cypriot monsters is different; the eyes also consist mainly of pellets while the Lefkandi one had them, rather, inlaid. The latter had no genitals but not so the Ayia Irini ones. Neither was there any snake, characteristic of the Ayia Irini centaurs.

Gjerstad called the Cypriot monsters minotaurs although such a term does not seem the appropriate one. No example from Ayia Irini bears specifically bull's features, apart from No. 1122 of period 4 which has on the head bull's horns and No. 1690 of period 3 with horns slightly indicated. If we bear in mind that the temple was a place for a fertility cult, then we may easily explain horns and snakes on the centaurs, both being signs of fertility<sup>912</sup>. The monsters' legs are entirely conventional. There is no indication whatsoever that they belong to bulls. They are circular, tapering downwards but never pointed. The same is more or less true for the Lefkandi centaur but nothing can permit us either there or at Ayia Irini to call the monsters minotaurs.

From other areas of Greece<sup>913</sup>, we have a miniature



centaur from Corinth. It is 6 cm. long and 6.3 cm. high. It has a short human torso and genitals. The bottom of the forelegs is missing. All four legs are circular in section and taper downwards, resembling very much those on the Ayia Irini centaurs. The head is remarkable with horse's ears, a tuft of black hair between them, disc-pellets for eyes, huge nose, thick lips and beard with vertical incisions. The centaur's right hand rests on the hip while the left one and the tail are missing. It was covered with white slip and brown stripes. This example was associated with a "Geometric" krater<sup>914</sup>. This Corinthian miniature example shows connexions with Cyprus in the shape of legs, attribution of eyes and the shape of its beard which shows affinities to Ayia Irini 1122 (pl.27b) of period 4 which cannot ante-date 720 B.C. Although the Corinthian centaur may be earlier than 720 I still believe that it is a Cypriot influence<sup>915</sup>. A clay centaur from Athens belongs rather to the sub-Geometric period<sup>916</sup>.

Centaurs are not known only in clay but also in metal. The most famous of all is the one from Olympia and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, shown encountering a "hero". It is a miniature group 11 cm. high and of mid-eighth century date.

This is all the evidence we have about the centaur. Its home seems to be Mesopotamia. It was borrowed in Cyprus at least in the middle of the 10th century and it influenced Euboea a little later. The scorpion's tail and the wings of

the Mesopotamian monster were discarded by the Cypriots retaining only the combination of human and horse's body. The same is true for Greece because, I believe, the idea of the centaur arrived in Greece via Cyprus<sup>918</sup>; this is corroborated by the fact that in Cyprus the earliest monster carries a branch of a tree, a characteristic of Greek centaurs. In any case, despite the fact that Cyprus contributed to the formation of the Greek centaur, from an artistic point of view, it offered very little. Needless to say the metal ones are in absolutely Greek style.

### 32. HUMAN FIGURINES

Terracotta human figurines are well attested in the Iron Age period of Cyprus. Already in the late Bronze Age Mycenaean figurines of 'Φ' and 'Ψ' types, though rare, are also present<sup>919</sup>. Our interest, however, will be confined to those of the mid-11th century and afterwards. They are of the well known type with cylindrical body and raised arms; very possibly they were produced throughout the entire Iron Age.

The earliest is perhaps a group in the Cyprus Museum<sup>920</sup> of the early Iron Age. To the same period may belong another one in the collection of the late Z. Pierides<sup>921</sup> (pl.28a). It is in the Bichrome technique and it does not predate CGI<sup>922</sup>.

The cylindrical body terminates in a flat circular disc and the elbows are bent at angles of 90°. Breasts and eyes are plastically rendered and painted. Thin and thick bands are painted on body and hands. Ribbons are painted round the neck. Long hair, reaching the back, is indicated with paint. The head is surmounted by a flat polos having a zig-zag.

Very probably it belongs to early CGI. This date is reached when comparing its polos and circular? neck-pendant to those seen on the plastic face of a Salaminian bottle of the PWhP technique<sup>923</sup> (pl.28b). Total height 21 cm.

In late CGI we have two examples from Lapithos<sup>924</sup>. Painted stripes are applied on both but they are rather crude objects. Both have cylindrical to bell-shaped bodies but they are fragmentary. The one from tomb 419 bears a ram's? mask on the face with female breasts indicated. It is 8 cm. high. The other one is even shorter being only 6.5 cm.

More numerous are those from the sanctuary at Ayios Iakovos<sup>925</sup>. The body is cylindrical and the arms raised. They are probably of late CGI or CGII<sup>926</sup>. Their height varied between 6 to 18 cm.

An example which was recovered from Morphou was attributed by Mr A.H.S. Megaw to the "Early Geometric" period<sup>927</sup> (pl.29a). It seems that its date cannot be fixed very precisely<sup>928</sup> although I am of the opinion that Megaw is right because of the neck's painted pendant, a mode also seen on the figurine of the Pierides' collection. The figurine has the usual

cylindrical body, raised arms, plastically rendered breasts, eyes and nose and it bears decoration of simple bands and a kind of pendant with three suspended languettes.

From Idalion we have an additional example<sup>929</sup>. It is roughly modelled with a high polos and decorated in Bichrome technique, the paint being worn off in most parts. It is 11.6 cm. high and probably of CGIII date<sup>930</sup>. The very high polos of this figurine is also seen on a miniature one from Timi, in the Paphos district. It is only 7.5 cm. high and according to Mr Nicolaou it is CA<sup>931</sup>. No decoration is indicated. The body flares downwards and there are no eyes. Small pellets were attached on the chest for the breasts. A certain similarity with the Idalion figurine exists and I am inclined to date it in CGIII than CA.

One more from Yeroskipou, Paphos, with a high "tiara" is of a later date<sup>932</sup>. In the same tradition belongs a figurine standing on two legs instead of being supported on a cylindrical body. Nothing is certain about its exact provenance and dating<sup>933</sup> (pl.29b).

Finally, the human figurines from Ayia Irini, some of them statues of nearly life-size, are in a new tradition. They were found in period IV, which we dated after 720 B.C.<sup>934</sup>

The Cypriot Iron Age female figurines with cylindrical body and raised arms are generally accepted as Cretan influence (935) despite Megaw's belief in a Cypriot lineage from the Late Bronze Age Mycenaean figurines<sup>936</sup>. The Minoan influence is



clear, if we compare the Cypriot idols, especially the first ones with those from Karphi<sup>937</sup> of early 11th century. Despite the differences, especially in size, the similarities in the shape of bodies and arms compel us to see Crete as their primary source of origin<sup>938</sup>.

More sub-Minoan and Protogeometric ones come from the Acropolis of Gortyn<sup>939</sup>. They are debased and show no close connexions to the Cypriot ones. They could well be regarded as evolutions - if their debasement can be called so - from the same prototype.

The polos which is seen on a number of Cypriot figurines is also seen on the Goddess of the round shrine from the Giomalakis collection<sup>940</sup> of PGB times and on another one in a "Hut-Urn", according to Evans<sup>941</sup>, of possible sub-Minoan date. The polos, thus, also derives from Crete.

From Vrokastro we have a miniature bronze figurine with up-raised arms<sup>942</sup>. Hall's drawing, indicates breasts as well as facial characteristics. The legs are put together but each one is distinct. We could tentatively date it in the end of the 8th century because of the material, the execution of the details and the more precise outline than other 8th century figurines. This Vrokastro example resembles the one with the two legs from the Cyprus Museum (pl.29b) of unknown provenance and dating<sup>943</sup>. In the light of the Cretan evidence, we can also attribute the Cypriot figurine to the very end of the 8th century.

The figure-vase from Kissamo has the cylindrical body which could be a continuation of the Minoan tradition and as Boardman has said, there is no strong reason why we should look to Cyprus for influence<sup>944</sup>. After all, the tresses, the baldric slung across the chest and other details do not invite comparisons with Cyprus. It is 36.5 cm. high and it dates after 800 B.C. according to Payne<sup>945</sup>.

In the 7th century, great numbers of Cypriot clay figurines were exported to Lindos and Samos or imitated there. Connexions with the latter started earlier as Dieter Ohly has demonstrated<sup>946</sup>. From the end of the 8th century comes a small statuette of probable Cypriot origin discovered near Altar V of the Samian Heraion<sup>947</sup>. Most of the arms and the head are missing. Enough, however, survives to show relationship to a Cypriot figurine now in Paris<sup>948</sup>. The same relationship with Cyprus is seen on a figurine from Lindos<sup>949</sup> whose surviving height is 15 cm. and its date is probably around 700 B.C.

A kind of warrior figurine discovered recently at Rizokarpaso and dating from CGII was connected by Mr Christou to the Attic hand-made doll-figurines with incised decoration (950). The only feature they share are the detachable legs (pl.30a). The connexion with Cyprus of these Attic LPG idols, whatever their connexion may be with the north, is even more problematical. If there was indeed a relationship based on the movable legs <sup>\*</sup>shape and decoration of idols being completely different in the two districts - I think that the influence is

from Attica towards Cyprus in the second half, possibly the last quarter of the 10th century B.C. and not vice versa, as the decoration of the Attic idols have probable antecedents in sub-Mycenaean pyxides<sup>952</sup>.

It is thus quite clear that in the mid-eleventh century or slightly earlier, the type of the Goddess with cylindrical body and raised arms found its way from Crete to Cyprus where it was manufactured down into the CA times. To the end of the 8th century belongs a Cypriot figurine of this type discovered at Samos<sup>953</sup> and from c.700 B.C. This island, along with Lindos and Rhodes, became a prolific centre of Cypriot clay sculpture of a type met at Ayia Irini in Cyprus.

### 33. NAISKOI

This term is adopted here for a sort of miniature clay house-model, usually round in shape, sometimes rectangular, and referred to by others as hut-urns, shrines, house-urns or simply clay-urns.

Dr Karageorghis has recently identified such objects from Kition as free imitations of Cretan prototypes<sup>954</sup>. Apparently, they were made as vases and afterwards parts were cut to resemble doors and windows. One example is 11.5 cm. high while a second one is 15.5 cm. Both rest on a conical

foot, their body is nearly cylindrical, with the greatest width at the transition from body to shoulder; the neck is concave and the lip is flaring. Their decoration is purely linear and they belong to early CGI. We agree with Dr. Karageorghis that the "Kition" vase-shaped naiskoi are in the Cretan tradition despite the absence of any telling resemblances (pl. 30b).

The manufacture of naiskoi goes back into the Neolithic period in Greece<sup>955</sup> if we apply this term to every house-model known to us. They are, however, very remote from the period concerning us here, and especially from the Cretan ones which we regarded as inspiration for the Cypriot Iron Age examples, so we shall leave them aside.

The latest Minoan examples are those from Kastri (Palaikastro) of LMIIIB-C which continue older Minoan tradition (956). Their manufacture survived in sub-Minoan and later times when they were cylindrical with conical roof and two perforated projections on each side of the door to secure it with a bar from outside<sup>957</sup>. Similar naiskoi, very probably inspired from Crete, were discovered in Etruria<sup>958</sup>; their influence seems to have spread from that island not only to Etruria but also to Cyprus in CGIA. Naiskoi with doors secured from outside were discovered in the Levant much earlier<sup>959</sup> but whether they have influenced Crete at that time, as seems probable, is of no great relevance here.

The naiskoi from Idalion, now in Paris, and shown by



Gjerstad<sup>960</sup> are most probably Oriental in origin. One of them has a porch of two columns topped by flower (lotus?) capitals and bird women at the window and the door, while the other one has a "woman" at the window, unmistakable signs of Levantine influence.

A naiskos published by Boardman in RDAC, 1971, 37 ff, pl. XVII, is worth mentioning here (pl. 31a). It belongs to the Cyprus Museum and it is in a fragmentary condition, being a roughly square building with rectangular door and three windows of the same shape. Inside, beside a window, there is a figure sitting on the floor, and holding what seems to be a lyre; a table was probably in front of him with only a cylindrical stump surviving today. Figures are clinging on the walls outside, one on each opening, obviously trying to see what was going on inside. Two of them survive today; from the others we have only traces, and a fifth one was probably on the roof looking into an opening which interrupted the roof. Traces of dull brown and red paint can be seen. Preserved height 11 cm. upper width 10.4 cm., base 9 cm. Boardman suggests a date in the 7th or even 8th century without excluding the possibility that it may be of the 6th<sup>961</sup>. This naiskos, despite some unusual features, was connected in a way with examples from the Levant and Crete. As Boardman himself observes, the shape of the Cypriot naiskos does not have any particular feature to connect it with the Cretan examples<sup>962</sup> but on the famous example from Archanes of the PGB period we have a Goddess with

raised arms and a polos on her head, while on the roof we have two figures peering in through the opalion at what is inside, while a dog lies beside them<sup>963</sup>. What the scene shows is not our concern but the "inquisitive" visitors recall vividly those on the Nicosia model, where too there may have been one on the roof....<sup>964</sup>

Boardman's aim is to identify the lyre player and he thinks that the Nicosia naiskos is inspired by Phoenician and Syrian elements. At all events, and even if we have Levantine elements in it, I do not think that the Archanes naiskos must be altogether disregarded. The effort of the uninvited strangers to "search" the interior of both naiskoi is strikingly similar and it cannot be lightly dismissed<sup>965</sup>. As the Archanes example is dated c.800 B.C. and as the Cypriot one is of uncertain dating, it is possible to regard it as being early in the 8th century and having signs of Cretan influence.

The so-called tube-vessels, found in Cyprus<sup>966</sup>, although having similar Cretan predecessors from Gournia of LM period<sup>967</sup>, still have nothing to do with the Cretan ones, first because of the great interval of time separating their production in the two islands and, secondly, because they were always manufactured in the Levant where they were, perhaps, used as incense-stands or offering-stands, whence the Cypriots got the idea.

In conclusion, Crete influenced Cyprus in CGIA and,

perhaps, again in the early 8th century with the naiskos  
from Nicosia with the figures on its walls and roof trying  
to see what was going on inside.

Domestic Architecture

Apart from a rather doubtful and miserable example of CG domestic architecture<sup>968</sup> on the acropolis of Kition, very little more is known. Only two walls survive and they meet nearly at right angles on the mentioned site. They belong to the CG period<sup>969</sup> and their construction may even be earlier<sup>970</sup>. The junction of the two walls indicates a rectangular or trapezoid room; the walls were of mud-brick resting on stone foundations of rubble.

From Bamboula-Kourion, we may have additional evidence but till the final publication of the results of the excavations we do not know anything for sure<sup>971</sup>.

With such scanty evidence, I do not think we can use it in any way to reach conclusions on connexions. We have to wait for new material to come to light and then deal with the problem afresh.

Tomb Architecture

Anyone who writes on the tomb architecture of the Geometric period of Cyprus, will inevitably base his conclusions on Gjerstad's results<sup>972</sup>. He has distinguished many types of tomb all of them cut in rock. Hereunder is a summary of his results:

- a. Pit-shaped. It is very rare (fig.B5)
- b. Vertically-cut shaft, rectangular or trapezoid in shape with similar chamber closed with rough stones. Possible tumuloi of stones or earth on top. It is common throughout the Cypro-Geometric period (fig.B8).



- c. Dromos which is more of a shallow shaft, roughly rectangular with a step to facilitate the descent. It is a variety of type b; it is represented by a single example of CGIII date.
- d. With a long narrow dromos sloping downwards towards the entrance of the chamber, while its upper part converges giving a wedge-shaped section. Sometimes the doorway is as broad as the dromos and its sides are vertical with a packing of rough stones. It does not always open in the centre of one of the sides of the chamber. The latter varies from roughly rectangular or trapezoid to somewhat irregular. Its roof slopes backwards. Niches are occasionally found in the dromos and rarely in the chamber. It occurs in CGI-II and it is clearly derived from Mycenaean prototypes (fig.B7).
- e. A variety of type 'd' with narrow dromos but not so long as in the previous one, widening abruptly towards the entrance, its sides being vertical or diverging, rarely slightly converging but never sharply. The chamber of this variety bears more irregularities than type 'd'. It is common throughout the Iron Age.
- f. It is confined to Styloloi. The chamber is cave-shaped and very small in comparison to the size of the dromos. It belongs to CGIII. At Marion,

somewhat similar tombs are CGI. It seems to me that it derives from the previous two types.

- g. It is found at Amathus. Short dromos with doorway having two slabs forming the door-jambs and another one used as lintel; usually a fourth one was used as threshold. Sometimes, some of these slabs may be missing. One of the tombs of this category has the rear of the dromos revetted with stone blocks<sup>973</sup>. The entrance to the shaft was closed by one or two slabs or a huge block. Most of the rectangular shafts were dressed with stone slabs. It is represented in the whole CG period (fig.B6).
- h. As the previous one, but the chamber with revetted walls of roughly cut ashlar. One example of late CGI and two from CGIII. This type foreshadows the built tombs of the archaic period with stepped dromoi, corbelled roof-chambers, sometimes with chamber and antechamber.

It would be an omission not to refer to the magnificent tombs of Salamis (pl.31b) some of which date from the very end of CGIII. One of them, the prison of St. Catherine, or tomb 50 as it was numbered, had a dromos reaching nearly 40 metres<sup>974</sup> with the greatest width around 15. The others were smaller but still remarkable. On one occasion, above tomb No.3, an artificial mound was erected. This tomb was ascribed by Dr Karageorghis to the end of CAI or the beginning of CAII<sup>975</sup>.

Among its interesting features was a circular beehive structure of mud-bricks in the mound itself but well above the ground level<sup>976</sup> (pl.32a). All the tombs were very rich in finds. If we judge from what is found in the undisturbed parts of the dromoi which escaped the looters then we can surely speak of splendidly furnished tombs. All these tombs show vividly several customs mentioned by Homer<sup>977</sup>.

Of all the above tomb-types, only type 'd' is connected with the Aegean. It is surely derived from the well-known Mycenaean chamber tomb with multiple burials. No other useful inference can be drawn from the tomb evidence. It is impossible to attach any weight to the orientation of the dromoi or the disposition of corpses inside the chambers. In the Cypriot, Mycenaean-derived ones, the corpses were usually laid on an outstretched dorsal position as was indeed the practice in the Mycenaean world in most cases.

A difficulty which is encountered, according to Gjerstad, when referring to the connexions of Cyprus and the Mycenaean world in this particular tomb-type is that of the chronology. He was of the opinion that Mycenaean chamber-tombs with long dromoi are missing in Greece after Myc.IIIC1, so the early CGI examples must be separated from their Mycenaean prototypes by 25 to 50 years, the fluctuation depending upon the accepted closing date of Myc.IIIC1<sup>978</sup>. He rightly observed that the PWhP pottery, characteristic of the Achaean colonists, was not found in tombs of the established Mycenaean shape with long

converging dromos. Since then, however, two tombs have been discovered allegedly containing PWhP pottery. One was found at Salamis<sup>979</sup>, but it also contained WhPI material, thus dating the tomb in early CGI; the second was discovered at Paphos<sup>980</sup>. It is earlier than CGI but unfortunately no dromos was found and the excavator, Dr Karageorghis, is of the opinion that if it ever existed it was washed away by erosion. Apart from this doubtful case we have another one where the same explanation may be applied, namely the famous tomb No. 40 from Kaloriziki, Kourion<sup>981</sup>, where not even the roof of the chamber survived but the bench inside speaks in favour of its being a chamber-tomb. Its date may fall in the second quarter of the 11th century.

To these two doubtful instances we have nothing to add. In any case, we ought to bear in mind that Myc.IIIC1 does not end everywhere in Greece at the same time where in some cases it comes down to 1050<sup>982</sup>. At Perati where the end of the cemetery comes probably in the region of 1075 if not later and also in sub-Minoan Crete, we have tombs with dromoi<sup>983</sup> although not so long as in earlier periods. Here, it is reasonable to assume that the first tombs of the 11th century Mycenaean immigrants of Cyprus may even be inferior to the last ones of their native land left behind; only when they felt secure in their new homes did they start their old custom, so we may allow something like a generation to elapse without expecting to find tombs with dromoi of any considerable length, if at all.



A funerary practice alien to Cyprus is cremation. It was used for the couple entombed - not simultaneously of course - in Kabriziki grave No. 40 of the second quarter of the 11th century and afterwards at Salamis and Paphos in the 8th century. In the first instance, the custom is not a product of normal interrelation but was simply taken to Cyprus by the Mycenaean immigrants. The second case belongs to CAI, that is after 740 B.C. and there is very little chance of our finding something to bridge the gap in the Cypriot series. Very probably the custom was now re-introduced from abroad. In fact, in early CAI tombs properly excavated<sup>984</sup>, the cremated remains were put in bronze cauldrons, a Euboean and Attic custom in the 8th century, with true imports of pottery from the Aegean accompanying the deceased. As in both Euboea and Attica the practice of cremation was still current in the 8th century, we are justified in seeing the custom being introduced to Cyprus from one of these two districts.<sup>985</sup>

The Homeric customs observed in the Necropolis of Salamis like horse-sacrifices<sup>986</sup>, very rich grave goods, tumuli etc. are probably the product of the revival of Greek conscience among the Cypriots after they came in closer contact with Greece proper, and especially after the spreading of the completed Homeric poems. The opinion that there may be a linkage with the true Mycenaean era has a very feeble basis. There is nothing in the 11th, 10th and 9th centuries to hint at the tangible Homeric customs of the mid-8th century.

Another burial-custom, believed by some scholars to have taken place, is human sacrifices<sup>987</sup>. At Lapithos, there are three instances where, according to the excavator<sup>988</sup>, skeletons were buried in undisturbed dromos-fillings. All three cases belong to CGI. Only recently the custom was observed again at Salamis in a CA tomb<sup>989</sup>. The question arises as to whether we are confronted with human sacrifices or not. In the Lapithos instances we cannot offer any explanation but about the Salaminian ones we have some doubts to express. If as we believe the Salaminian "kings" were influenced by the Homeric poems then such a custom should not have occurred as Homer himself disapproves of Achilles' slaying the twelve young Trojans<sup>990</sup>. But even without Homer such a custom is by nature so cruel as to be avoided, especially at a time when contacts with Greece increased and where there is no indication of such a practice in the Aegean. It may of course be argued that we are judging by modern ways of thinking epochs which might really have been more cruel. On the other hand, how are we going to explain the skeletons in the dromos of the Salaminian tomb? This fact ought to make us really sceptical about them but may not it be a coincidence of the death of a poor man and a "king" at the same time where the former might be used as a servant to the latter, a position which could even bring honour to the poor under these circumstances? At any rate, this is not capable of proof but I would rather cling to it than accept human sacrifices at Salamis. For in that case, why do we not have more instances of human

skeletons in the dromoi of the Salaminian tombs? In the sole case where we have such a find, namely tomb No.2, one skeleton was connected with the last burial and more skeletal remains, probably dispersed by the plough, were connected again with the last burial<sup>991</sup> of the very end of CGIII. Another question which arises is, why do we have the sacrifice of only one man and not more? Could he be enough ~~for~~ a "king" for a life to come? Could the "king" not afford to have the company of more people? If again the sacrificed is interpreted as the chariot-eer of the "king" - I speak now about the complete skeleton which belongs to the second burial of tomb No.2 - why were his hands joined across the abdomen giving the impression that they were fastened? How could he exercise his duties like that? I must say I do not feel confident to give an answer to these questions, but as I have previously said, I tend to believe that we do not have human sacrifices in the CA period.

The erection of a stele on a tomb is another practice which might arise here. Whether Cypriots used such "indicators" on their tombs, is doubtful indeed. An undressed stone from tomb 3 at Idalion<sup>992</sup> and several others mentioned by Ohnefalsch-Richter makes the case probable but not certain.

In conclusion, we can say that in very early CGI we have influence of the Mycenaean long dromos chamber tomb on Cyprus<sup>993</sup>, owing to actual Mycenaean migration. The only case of cremation of the second quarter of the 11th century at Kourion, is the product of the same ~~matter~~<sup>factor</sup>. The cremations,

however, of early CAI period are due to contact with Attica or more probably Eretria. Various other Homeric customs observed in the Salaminian Nekropolis were products of contact with the Aegean and perhaps the composition and spreading of the epics to Cyprus.

35. MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS

In this chapter, the aim is to bring together all the decorative motifs and other evidence of connexions between Cyprus and the Aegean which we did not have the opportunity to mention in the individual chapters. The material is treated by regions within Greece and not in chronological order as the former procedure fits the purpose of our work better.

The pictorial style of Attica after a very timid emergence in the MG, made its real impact in the early LG period<sup>994</sup> because of the Dipylon Master who gave his personal touch on the subject, setting the canons for the "new" style. His figures are tall and rather slim, with few curves. The buttocks spring abruptly from the very thin waist, topped by a chest which is merely an isosceles triangle with arms springing directly from the shoulder. Hands and fingers are most often absent; the entire human being is in silhouette, without even an eye reservation except in cases when a dead man is depicted, and there only occasionally<sup>995</sup>.



The Hirschfeld Painter whose "floruit" was in Attic LGIb differs in details from the Dipylon Master especially in the reservation and dotting of the eyes and the rather concave contour of the thorax.

On a Cypriot WhPIII amphora in the Petrakides collection borrowed by the Cyprus Museum<sup>996</sup> (pl.32b) we have a very interesting scene from the point of view of the technique used for its figured painting. The composition consists of an archer chasing a big bird. The painter succeeded in giving us the sense of movement but his execution of various details is quite slapdash. The triangular thorax of the hunter rests on a thin waist; the legs are shown apart and in profile in the act of running but the lower leg is thicker than the thigh. A relatively long formless line serves as neck and the head, with nose and mouth clearly shown, has a reserved dotted eye. The hair of the archer flows strongly on the opposite direction to that of his movement. He holds the bow with his left hand while the right one comes across the lower part of the chest in a strange way as if boneless, holding the arrow to be released towards the bird. The right arm is much longer than the left one, but no details of hands are shown on either. This scene is a clear manifestation of Aegean influence on Cyprus and more precisely of Attic influence. It is of course out of the question to ascribe it to this or that Attic workshop but I think that it shows traces of influence of the Dipylon Master-isosceles thorax, springing of the arms - and perhaps by the Hirschfeld

Painter is the reservation of the eye and the dot in it. As for the flowing hair of the archer this may be a misunderstanding of the plume of a helmet by the Cypriot painter. The bird is in outline with a hatched raised wing, long neck with short feathers indicated at the back of it, short open beak, triangular tail and legs with claws, carelessly executed. The whole composition covers the central part of the shoulder of a big amphora and it is probably one of the earliest in the free-field style. If we compare it to other free-field compositions (997) we see a marked difference. Nothing is there to remind us of the Attic black silhouette technique. The latter is alien to Cyprus and one can go so far as to say that it is out of tune with the spirit of the Cypriot art. It is mechanically imitated here and there, without understanding and without any effect on the art of the island.

If our derivation of the composition discussed from the Dipylon Master and perhaps the Hirschfeld Painter is correct, then the amphora on which it is painted must date between 760 - 735. Now, does this fit with the chronology of the shape of the vase? Dr Karageorghis regarded it as WhPIII. It is 64.5 cm. high. It bears linear decoration on the neck and simple bands and rings on the body, the greatest part of which is kept clear of any decoration. The neck, which is slightly concave, is a feature of type III pottery but the handles, which are set on the shoulder, and the greatest width of the vase which is on the lower part of the shoulder, are both signs of type IV

pottery<sup>998</sup>. It is thus likely that we may ascribe this vase to the last years of CGIII. If the dividing line between types III and IV is about 740 as we suggest, then the shape fits well with the Attic influence on the painting of the shoulder. A year around 750 B.C. for its manufacture is quite satisfactory for both shape and decoration of this very interesting amphora.

Another Cypriot vase with Attic influence on its figured decoration is a Black-on-Red I(III) bowl of the Rijks museum, Kroller-Muller, Otterlo, Holland<sup>999</sup>, Inv. No.50V. Its diam. is 16 cm. and its height 7 cm. The striking feature on it is the imitation of the Dipylon warriors equipped with 8-shaped shields.

The ignorant Cypriot potter painted the soldiers and added to each one of them another round shield, as if the curious form of the other one was simply their body. It seems to me that such ignorance is not justified in the end of the Attic Late Geometric period; in fact, it is much more probable that the imitation by the Cypriot potter took place at the very beginning of the emergence of that style in Attica, before he was aware what an 8-shaped shield was<sup>1000</sup>. Such an ignorance would be unlikely after 750-740 B.C., when we have closer relations between Cyprus and the Aegean. This bowl must be one of the late type III products. It could be dated C.750 B.C.

The following decorative motifs also show Attic influence on Cyprus.

Floating Sigmas, Four-limbed ( } )

They were invented in Corinth in LG and they were adopted in LGIIa Attica<sup>1001</sup>. In Cyprus they are seen on a beautiful CAI kylix, on the inside part of the lip (pl.33a). Corinth or Attica must be responsible for this influence in the last quarter of the 8th century.

Dot-rosette

This emerged in MGII Attica<sup>1002</sup>. It is seen on a Cypriot Black-Slip-Bichrone plate in the Art Gallery and Museum of Glasgow, registration No.03-185 fq (pl.33b). The fluting is very badly executed<sup>1003</sup> and it may date to the first half of the 8th century, when the influence from the Aegean of this particular motif is felt in Cyprus.

Vertical Row of Chevrons

This was invented in MGI Attica and was used first as an ancillary but in MGII became a main motif<sup>1004</sup>. In Cyprus, it was introduced in CGIII, possibly in the first half of the 8th century<sup>1005</sup>.

In return, Cyprus may have offered the multiple-brush to Attica but this is not certain<sup>1006</sup>. A motif, however, which merits a brief discussion is the ritual of dancing. In Cyprus it is clearly depicted on the Hubbard Amphora (pl.34a) dated by the late Prof. Dikaios about 800 B.C.<sup>1007</sup>, while Dr Karageorghis ascribes it to the beginning of the 8th century<sup>1008</sup>. The latter date seems the most probable. On the one side of this famous amphora we have a funerary scene



and on the other a dance-ritual, connected perhaps with the former. There is a lyre player and the dancers hold hands tightly with branches also in their hands. Dikaïos and Karageorghis have noticed that this scene recalls to mind similar compositions on Greek Geometric vases<sup>1009</sup>. The former scholar tried to find connexions with previous periods and he regarded as predecessor of this dance the one shown on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus but he also pointed out a similar scene from a Nimrud pyxis. Poulsen has suggested oriental inspiration for the rite<sup>1010</sup> while Kunze accepts it as a Greek custom<sup>1011</sup>. The Nimrud pyxis belongs to the 9th century, while the Hagia Triada sarcophagus is much older<sup>1012</sup> so one may argue that this dance originates in the Aegean. In any case the Greek Geometric vases are separated by about four hundred years from the last sub-Minoan example of such a dance which comes from Palaikastro<sup>1013</sup>. How are we then going to bridge this gap?

What seems most probable is that the ritual of dancing in funerary contexts existed in Greece throughout the Dark Ages, and when the people started painting figured scenes on their vases it was one of the first themes to appear. At the beginning, man tries to depict what is most important to his life and certainly, for the Greeks of the 8th century, death was very important as it is in all Ages, comprising in itself the unsolved mystery of the end of human life. Since at the same time the vases with such scenes were used for funerary purposes, it is natural to find them so painted<sup>1014</sup>. Cyprus

may have played merely the role of a spur. If the Aegean people saw what the Cypriots were painting it was quite natural to imitate it, if similar scenes were part of their life. We can thus compare the Hubbard Amphora (pl.34a) with a fragment from Amyklaion (GGP pl.46:n) or a vase from Athens (GGP, pl.11:d) where features like the lyre and the branches held by the dancers are present on all three vases<sup>1015</sup>. The technique of the Aegean examples is, of course, different and only the impulse for the beginning of painting these scenes was Cypriot and ultimately Oriental.

Crete is another Greek region which shows connexions not referred to until now. They are the following:

#### Horned Quadruped

It is seen on Cypriot PWhP - CGI vases and Dr Karageorghis suggests Cretan influence on Cyprus<sup>1016</sup> as other scholars did even earlier<sup>1017</sup>. If this is correct, then the influence arrived in Cyprus c1100 B.C. or soon afterwards. The above view was recently questioned by Mme Yon who does not exclude Levantine influence on Cyprus<sup>1018</sup>. It is true that the source of origin of this motif cannot be established with certainty but a Cretan figured fragment of late 12th century which was recovered from Kition<sup>1019</sup> adds weight to the argument in favour of Crete.

#### Cretan Polychromy

This late 8th century polychromy was a topic of discussion for many scholars<sup>1020</sup>; its source was supposed to be Cyprus or Minoan Crete. We do not have anything to add apart

from expressing our disbelief for the latter source, and our doubts for the former.

### Birds With Raised Wing


In Crete this type of bird emerged in MG when we have it depicted on vases from Fortetsa in three separate cases<sup>1021</sup>. Their main characteristics are one raised wing and the fan-tail. According to Coldstream, they are experimental attempts. In the LG period Coldstream regards the Cretan birds as of Attic influence but with the raised wing and the fan-tail retained from the previous period<sup>1022</sup>. In both MG and LG periods "the wing curves gently away from the body" and the legs are bent with the claws usually shown. In MG the wing is hatched as is the practice on an early or mid-CGIII amphora<sup>1023</sup> (pl.34b). The other features of these Cretan birds such as the fan-tail and the bent legs with the claws are also matched on a Cypriot vase, a CGIII kylix shown in SCEIV:2, Fig.XXI:11 and there is little doubt that the bird with raised wing derives from Cyprus<sup>1024</sup>, being transferred to Crete around 775 B.C. whence it spread to the Cyclades<sup>1025</sup>.

### Bee-motif

This decorative motif started as a purely geometrical design of a lozenge flanked by opposing triangles, all three set horizontally and usually confined in a rectangle. In Cyprus the motif is common in CGIII-CAI<sup>1026</sup>. In Crete it was probably introduced in LG but the Cretans developed the motif further and made it resemble bees set opposite each other with some more elaborate designs between them<sup>1027</sup>.

Comb

In Cyprus it is used to fill spaces empty of decoration and it is found on vases from CGI onwards<sup>1028</sup>. In Crete it is seen on vases of Middle and Late Protogeometric<sup>1029</sup>, the time when it was perhaps transmitted to Crete, where it is like a fork, usually with five prongs, flat handle and a loop at the back of it. In Cyprus they invariably have prongs on both sides and there may be one or two lateral loops.

A Cretan motif which possibly derives from Cyprus is a triangle enclosing a smaller one which in turn has a small solid lozenge on top. We can simply call it "triangle with solid apex" as it is the name given to it in Cyprus .

In Crete the most characteristic vase bearing it is the famous PGB amphora from Fortetsa tomb OD with the mourning women<sup>1030</sup>. In Cyprus it is known in CGIIB and CGIII<sup>1031</sup>.

Finally, we refer to the Argolid whose connexions were dealt with by Courbin<sup>1032</sup>. Some of his comparisons were discussed in the appropriate chapters, few look doubtful and here we only mention the motif of the stylized branch which is attested in the Argolid but also elsewhere according to Courbin<sup>1033</sup>. It is also seen on type III pottery in Cyprus<sup>1034</sup> (fig.A4). This Cypriot stylized branch consists of one, two or three vertical lines with short lateral ones which give the impression of a herring bone rather than a tree. Such a motif is also seen in the Protogeometric period at Fortetsa (PGP, pl.36:XI,10) and I very much doubt if Cyprus is the inspiring source for the Argolid.



## II. WEAPONS AND VARIOUS OTHER METAL OBJECTS

### 1. SPEARHEAD

The spearhead is a weapon whose forms, especially in iron are not easily classified because of the many, sometimes subtle, variations of the existing plentiful specimens. Some types of course are easily discernible from others but this is not always the case. Dr Snodgrass in his important work on Greek Armour and Weapons distinguishes more than 21 types<sup>1</sup> and makes our task much easier. Few new examples from Cyprus can enrich his lists<sup>2</sup> and none changes his results, so we shall mainly confine ourselves to repeat what he has already said.

His type C, a very small kind of spearhead with leaf-shaped blade terminating nearly at the bottom of the socket enumerates also an example from the tomb at Kition published by Myres and dating probably c.1050 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The Cypriot spearhead is small, its socket is short but its blade is thinner and longer in comparison to Attic and Cretan specimens<sup>4</sup>. If there were any connexions, which is doubtful, then the influence was from the Aegean (Attica?) towards Cyprus.

Type D may show connexions between Cyprus and Attica, but the example which Snodgrass quotes from Pighades cannot be dated precisely<sup>5</sup>, so we cannot say when exactly the influence travelled from Attica to Cyprus. As for his D1 spearhead<sup>6</sup> from Kaloriziki tomb 40 which is the earliest of this type, we should rather dissociate it from the LCI spearhead from Ayios Iakovos<sup>7</sup> and associate it <sup>with</sup> ~~to~~ another one from the Argive

Heraion<sup>8</sup> of mid-13th? century date according to Catling<sup>9</sup>. If this is so, whatever the connexions of the Kaloriziki example with a slightly later one from Kerameikos<sup>10</sup>, we cannot speak of influence from the former on the latter as the ultimate origin for both lies in the Argolid.

Type E has more or less short socket but long, narrow blade with rounded shoulders at the lower part and midrib from point to socket. Its origin perhaps lies in Europe<sup>11</sup> but it was introduced to Cyprus possibly in LCIIIB. A second one from Amathus of CGII is not of special interest in the light of the earlier introduction of the type in the island.

Type G has comparatively long socket with blade terminating abruptly in its lower part and midrib extending to the top<sup>12</sup>. In Cyprus it is present in CGI,II contexts<sup>13</sup> while in Attica it is known in the 10th and 9th centuries. Probably the influence reached Attica in the LPG period. This is quite clear if we compare SCEII, 118, pl.XXV No.39 of CGI-II to Agora, grave XXVII in Hesperia 21(1952), 281, pl.75C2 and fig. 3, 2, which is very late LPG. This Cypriot kind of spearhead may ultimately be of Mycenaean origin<sup>14</sup>.

Type V with long, narrow blade and prominent midrib on it from top to bottom originates in Cyprus<sup>15</sup>. The Iron Age examples are made after a tradition which began at least in LCII<sup>16</sup>. The earliest Cypriot Iron Age specimen is SCEI, 272, pl.59 No.26 from Lapithos, tomb 602 of late CGI.

On the other hand the earliest Cretan spearhead of this

type - the only Aegean district which shows connexions with Cyprus in this particular type<sup>17</sup> comes from an EPG chamber tomb at Tekke<sup>17</sup>. Something like half a century separates the two examples and we can speak of influence because of the conservativeness of metal types. After this initial phase of connexions in the last quarter of the 10th century, the Cretans made a somewhat similar type but with slightly hooked base of blade<sup>18</sup>, giving thus their own touch on the adopted Cypriot spearhead.

Finally, a type of spear much discussed by many scholars is the so-called sigynna<sup>19</sup>. How these very long and thin rods of metal came to acquire such a name is puzzling. Nowhere in the ancient sources is there any description of what a sigynna is<sup>20</sup>. Herodotus, the most ancient author, referring to sigynnai, simply says that the Cypriots use this name for the spears<sup>21</sup>. At any rate, what is accepted here as a sigynna is what is shown in SCEIV:2, 131, fig. 19:7, 138, fig. 23:2, namely a very long, narrow, wingless spearhead with a socket. In other words we follow what the others call sigynna in order to avoid confusion.

The earliest examples are supposed to be three from Kition. Myre's description of them runs as follows. "Numbers 1, 2 and 3 are spearheads of bronze, 0.90, 0.83, 0.82 m. in length respectively.... The socket of each is long and conical, formed by beating out the end of the original ingot into a thin plate, and bending this round until its edges meet in an imperfect weld. The tapering end of the socket passes

directly into a very long point, originally quadrangular in section, with sides practically parallel for the greater part of its length, after which it tapers very gradually to a sharp point. There are no flat "wings" or "flanges" at all, so that the whole spearhead presents rather the appearance of a skewer or spit for kitchen purposes, than of a military weapon"<sup>22</sup>.

Myres' final remark is very near the truth if we compare them to late 8th century iron examples from Kouklia and Salamis discovered beside firedogs<sup>23</sup>. I wonder whether the slim bronze "sigynnai" from Kition were used at all as offensive weapons; unless of course the skewers themselves were used as such! In any case, the fact that the late 8th century iron ones were connected with firedogs denotes that their primary purpose - if there was a second one at all - was to roast meat. Lateral holes on the lowest part of the socket might be used to fix them on a long enough stick to make them javelins<sup>24</sup> but it could be more practical to fix them on short pieces of wood so that the man using them as skewers would not burn his fingers. Dr Karageorghis, in the light of the discoveries of "skewers" from Paphos and Salamis has rightly argued that the identification of these objects as sigynnai may be erroneous<sup>25</sup>. Some iron pikes from Fortetsa<sup>26</sup> of rectangular section are similar to the Cypriot object discussed here, whether we call it sigynna or skewer. They may well have been Cypriot imports of the late 10th century as Brock and others have supported<sup>27</sup>.

Summing up the evidence of the spears we could say that



in the Iron Age mutual influences can be detected between Cyprus and the Aegean. Snodgrass' type C, a very small spear-head, may indicate Attic influence on Cyprus C.1050. Type E, actually a European spear, was introduced to Cyprus in LCIII B. Type G with longish socket and angular blade — shoulders was moving from Cyprus to Attica in the LPG. Type V with long, narrow blade was again a Cypriot weapon influencing Crete in EPG, as indeed was the "sigynna", a very long, thin, wingless object which was perhaps imported to Crete C.900 B.C. Finally, we refer to type D which comes from Attica, in that it may have influenced Cyprus sometime between CGII and CAI, a very long period indeed. The lack of a precise dating makes the case less significant. It is worth noting that there are still no "twin" spearheads in Cypriot graves, a peculiarity seen on Protoattic and Protocorinthian vases<sup>28</sup>.

## 2. SWORDS

It is well known that in the late 13th century B.C. the people of Greece and Eastern Mediterranean became acquainted with "the flange-hilted cut-and-thrust sword" formerly known as Naue's Type II (Griffzungenschwert) sword. In the Aegean there seems a break in the production of swords, re-emerging in the transitional period from sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric

and in some places later, after a discernible gap<sup>29</sup>. In Cyprus on the other hand and the Levant such a break did not take place.

In what follows, no effort was made to distinguish swords, dirks and daggers because on all three categories, the individual characteristics are usually the same, when they are made after this or that type.

Snodgrass' type I<sup>30</sup> is clearly derived from Naue type II but as he had observed, Catling's elaborate typology of the Bronze Age is very difficult to apply here. It has blade with edges nearly parallel but tapering before the tip to an acute point. Its section is flat elliptical; flanges at the hilts were used to secure covers which were further strengthened by rivets. The first all-iron version of this sword from Cyprus is according to Snodgrass<sup>31</sup>, Idalion SCEII, 537, 574, pl.171 No.208. It is perhaps the first attempt, not only in Cyprus but also in the East and the West to reproduce a weapon in the "new" metal, and as such it does not have a good finish, as one can deduce despite its corrosion. It bears two swellings on each side of the hand-grip and the pommel which crowns it is rounded. It also has a simple midrib. Sjoqvist dated it C.1100<sup>32</sup>. It is 79.7 cm. long. The dating of this sword was recently shaken by the discovery of another one from Kouklia with the same sort of hilt with two swellings, a semicircular pommel and three bronze rivets securing the covers of the hilt<sup>33</sup> (pl.35a). From its context, it could be

dated in the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. We thus have 400 years separating the two swords, which must make us reconsider the case of the Idalion example; the Kouklia one cannot antedate 740 B.C. at the earliest, if we are to judge from the ceramic material accompanying it. Now, is it possible to have two, so closely related examples, ~~and~~<sup>which</sup> still stand so widely apart chronologically? A slight possibility exists that due to conservativeness or satisfactory functioning it continued for centuries unchanged in shape. If, again, we regard it as an heirloom it is rather dangerous to depend on such an explanation. Under these circumstances the date of the Idalion sword inevitably must be reconsidered<sup>35</sup>. In any case, it is wiser to wait for new material to come to light and then date them more precisely. Meanwhile, we cannot proceed to new conclusions on the connexions of Cyprus and the Aegean. We simply acknowledge the validity of the results gained by others, though not unquestionably after the dispute over the date of the Idalion sword.

Attica is the earliest Greek region which exhibits Cypriot influence. The earliest one is transitional sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric and comes from Ker. Grave 2; its length is only 48 cm. Now there is another one of roughly the same date in Delt. Chr. 22 (1967) 92-3. Next to these two, we have a sword from tomb 6 which dates within the 11th century. Two small "ears" top its hilt reminding us of the Mycenaean examples of bronze of the Naue II type<sup>36</sup>. A fragment of bronze

blade from Karphi<sup>37</sup> is regarded<sup>as</sup> in the same tradition. Aegean swords which come after those we mentioned above cannot be considered of special value for our goal as they might well be of Aegean manufacture after the early models<sup>38</sup>.

Snodgrass' type 1A differs from the previous one in having the blade evenly tapering from hilt to tip. The hand-grip loses its prominent swellings approaching a rectilinear outline. Sometimes a pommel spur is present<sup>39</sup>. At the head of the series of these short swords is put one in bronze in the collection of Mr Loizou from Famagusta<sup>40</sup>. The material of its manufacture supports a Late Bronze Age date. The earliest Aegean examples are a possibly sub-Minoan one from Kavousi, Thunderhill<sup>41</sup>, one from Ker. grave E<sup>42</sup> and one from Marmaro, grave 44 at Rhodes<sup>43</sup>. All three may belong to the last quarter of the 10th century. A fourth one from Argos of Protogeometric date is referred to by Snodgrass<sup>44</sup>. The chronological gap which may exist between the Cypriot bronze example and the Aegean specimens causes some difficulty in regarding them as Cypriot influence. Despite this, there are scholars who may even take the Aegean examples as Cypriot imports<sup>45</sup>.

This is then all we can say about the swords, not because we could not examine more examples showing similarities between Cyprus and Greece but because we cannot reach more precise conclusions as the later examples are fashioned after earlier ones leaving no room for special deductions of connexions. Something, however, must be added about the lack of swords in the



latest phase of the Mycenaean period. It is really very difficult to understand how all the Mycenaean swords could have vanished for several years before the introduction of the iron ones. And even if no new items were manufactured, some of the earlier pieces should have been circulated. This, however, does not seem to be the case, so the answer lies somewhere else; as the sword can be considered something valuable it was carried to the places of refuge of the Mycenaeans<sup>46</sup>. One such place is Cyprus and the case of swords, I think, is corroborative evidence that most of the precious objects of the Mycenaeans were carried away by them when they left their homes. At all events, the iron swords - Snodgrass' type I - were perhaps introduced to Attica and possibly Karphi, Crete but in bronze, in the middle of the 11th century with slight modifications from their Bronze Age predecessors, due perhaps to the use of the new material. A second type - Snodgrass IA - with tapering blade was possibly copied in the last quarter of the 10th century in Attica, East Crete, Rhodes and the Argolid.

### 3. SHIELDS

Examining the shields, our first task is to refer to the "shield bosses", the metal, domed more or less objects with the flattened rim and the so controversial use. After Snodgrass' assemblage of the material and thorough examination<sup>47</sup> there is little left to be said. New material from Cyprus has not yet been discovered, so what Cypriot shield-bosses he enumerates is everything known till today.

Dr Snodgrass has demonstrated that most of these metal-bosses were attached on shields, with few exceptions being used as tympana, cymbals or belt-accessories<sup>48</sup>.

In Cyprus, the earliest ones come from Kaloriziki tomb No. 40<sup>49</sup> which we can date c. 1075 B.C. or soon afterwards while the first Aegean ones are those from Mouliana tomb B of probable late 12th century date<sup>50</sup>. It is quite clear that these objects were not Cypriot but their source of origin remains even now obscure<sup>51</sup>. In any case, the earliest Cypriot ones are definitely later than the Mouliana bosses, so we cannot do otherwise but regard the former as Aegean imports<sup>52</sup>.

A second instance of shield-bosses is one from the late CGI tomb 21 at Amathus<sup>53</sup>. The majority of the pottery of the grave's layer in which the shield-bosses belong was of type I, with examples showing lateness in this period. This indicates that the shield bosses are early<sup>rather</sup> than late in CGI and so we may connect them with the "imported" ones of Kaloriziki tomb No. 40.

The third dated Cypriot example belongs to CGIII<sup>54</sup>. If it is not an heirloom or a continuation of the old tradition

it may be a reintroduction from the Aegean, possibly Attica, where it is known from two late PG tombs.<sup>55</sup> As for the shield-bosses which come afterwards, nothing accurate about connexions can be said<sup>56</sup>.

Of the full-sized shields, we have to pay special attention in the Herzsprung or Lambda type. Its shape is round and it is decorated with concentric circles interrupted by a triangle which looks very much like the Latin letter 'V'. The best known example comes from Idalion, Cyprus<sup>57</sup>. It bears two prominent triangular notches which penetrate the middle of the "omphalos". The date of this shield - actually shield-facing - which is 83 cm. in diam., is uncertain. Thanks, however, to excavations by Dr Karageorghis<sup>58</sup>, we can ascribe the beginning of the Herzsprung shield in Cyprus at least to C.720 B.C. Parts of a small shield-facing were present in a warrior's tomb at Kouklia and they were reconstructed by the excavator so as to form a Herzsprung shield (pl.35b). Its diam. was estimated to 32 cm. Its poor remnants still show that there was a central omphalos surrounded by two embossed friezes of a guilloche-like pattern, each one of them framed by two embossed ridges. The inner frieze was interrupted by a V-notch which consisted of two Vs one inside the other, and touching only, not penetrating the central omphalos. Those who believe that the fully advanced Herzsprung shield is a development of a composite one with successive diminishing layers of hide<sup>59</sup>, find a strong support in the Kouklia shield which probably was only the

central part, the rest of it being covered with hide. This of course means that the fully developed Herzsprung shield must come slightly later unless there are in the future examples of contemporary date to the Kouklia smaller version of it.

Clear connexions of Cyprus with the Aegean through the Herzsprung shield are manifested in Crete, Samos, Rhodes, Delphi and possibly Olympia<sup>60</sup>. Among these regions Delphi and Olympia? offer life-size examples. From the rest, we have only miniatures. The earliest ones are perhaps the votives of Samos of Geometric or sub-Geometric date. Their similarity to the central part of the shield from Idalion is remarkable. The material from the other districts according to Snodgrass show a small meaningless notch, reminiscent of the Cypriot prototypes<sup>61</sup>.

We can thus sum up by saying that in the second quarter of the 11th century we have the introduction of the shield-bosses to Cyprus. The Herzsprung type shield originated in Cyprus in the last quarter of the 8th century and influenced the Aegean c. 700 B.C., first Samos, then Crete, Rhodes, Delphi and Olympia whence it was transmitted to Europe. Other shield types like the spiked-shield show ambiguous instances of connexions between Cyprus, Idaean Cave, Palaikastro and Ialysos<sup>62</sup>. If such connexions exist, they may date after 700 B.C. or perhaps slightly earlier.

Before bringing this chapter to an end, I should like to



refer to a fragmentary bronze shield<sup>63</sup> and two clay imitations with lion protomes from Salamis, Cyprus. Of the last two only one was restored with certainty<sup>64</sup> (pl.36a) measuring 21.5 cm. in diam. The second one was only a piece from the central part of a clay shield with a lion's head<sup>65</sup>. Both clay models date from CAII but definitely not earlier. The bronze shield is badly corroded and because of its condition is of undetermined type. It probably belongs to the single grip type. The associated finds of the tomb date it in the end of CAI or the very beginning of CAII.

The Salamis clay models find their best parallels at Fortetsa in Crete<sup>66</sup>, where even their size is about the same. Brock took them as lids, deriving from Cretan bronze-shields, and, as he dated them from Mature Geometric to Early Orientalizing, he thought that they confirm the early dating of the bronze ones<sup>67</sup>. My intention here is not to enter the discussion of the dating of the Cretan bronze-shields but one cannot overlook the similarity of Brock's lids to the Cypriot clay models of shields which cannot predate 675 B.C. If the former are earlier, I do not think they are so by much. Perhaps they do not ante-date the second half of the 8th century.

Boardman was of the same opinion, attributing the controversial Idaean Cave bronze shields, where we have examples with lion's protomes, to not earlier than mid-8th century and regarding them as products manufactured in Crete by Oriental craftsmen<sup>68</sup>. More recently, however, he has changed his view, dating them in the end of the 9th century. The discovery,

however, of the Cypriot clay models of such shields of the 7th century date hints that Cyprus may have played some role in the transmission of this shield from the Orient to Crete. In any case, before such a suggestion is made, we have to wait for earlier Cypriot animal-protome shields to come to light. Meanwhile, we have to satisfy ourselves with these "hints" which, however, are strengthened by the presence of a miniature Herzsprung shield in the Idaean Cave. If, as we have said previously, this Herzsprung shield derives from Cyprus then we have a good reason to argue that Cyprus may have played an intermediate role between 8th century Urartu<sup>69</sup>, where the animal-protome shields are found<sup>70</sup>, and Crete. For the moment, however, we lack the material evidence on which to base any such firm assumption.

#### 4. ARROWHEAD AND HELMET

##### Arrowhead

Among the many varieties of the arrowheads which exist, only one can show connexions between the Aegean and Cyprus, Snodgrass' type 4, with narrow, four-sided, tanged heads, with straight or curved sides<sup>71</sup>. Crete is the only Greek district which shows 8th century examples, probable imports from Cyprus<sup>72</sup>. When found in other districts, they belong to the 7th century and afterwards<sup>73</sup>.

No comment, is made about representations of archers as no useful conclusions could be reached about connexions, so we have to satisfy ourselves with this sole instance of probable 8th century contact of Crete with Cyprus.

### Helmet

There are not actually any connexions shown through the helmets. Instead of Cypro-Aegean links we have Cypro-Levantine; as the Cypriot helmet is like a conical cup<sup>74</sup>, we can easily compare it to oriental prototypes.

Here, we should also like to refer to some Cypriot clay figurines of CGII which allegedly bear helmets with a crest<sup>75</sup> (pl.30a). No details can be distinguished but they look very much like the stilted "Fore and Aft" type of crest shown by Snodgrass in EGA, p.7, fig.1: f, g, h, j. Does this helmet of the figurines have anything to do with the Aegean or was it simply a temporary loan from the east? For the moment no Aegean example is known so early, either real or represented, so we have to leave the answer to this question for the future. At the same time there are not any CGIII examples which would suggest contact with LG Greece.

Horse-bits

The first accurately dated horse-bits from Cyprus cannot antedate 750 B.C., as they are associated with pottery of type IV<sup>76</sup>. One could claim that all the Cypriot horse-bits were the product of a single workshop; such is their similarity. The metal used was invariably iron. In the description which follows the terminology is adopted from J.K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, p.<sup>41</sup>.

The mouthpiece consists of two twisted pieces of metal interlocked by means of loops, terminating at their ends in the rein rings which help to keep in place the cheek-pieces made of flat metal bars. The latter were inserted on the mouth-piece by means of perforations before the rein-rings were completed. The cheek-pieces could move freely on the twisted mouth-piece and they bore three rectangular projections with similar holes for the straps of the bridle. The length of the cheek-pieces varied usually between 16 to 25 cm. while the mouth-piece was round 30 cm.

From grave XXVIII of the Athenian Agora<sup>77</sup> dated soon after 900 B.C. we have the only known Geometric horse-bits in the whole of the Aegean. The mouthpiece consists of twisted wire but there are no cheek-pieces. Time and the latter deficiency makes it highly improbable that they have any connexions with the Cypriot ones. In fact, Foltiny's survey has shown the Agora horse-bits to have connexions with Iron Age Europe, the influence travelling from Greece to Europe and not vice-versa<sup>78</sup>.



as the chronology of the respective finds suggests.

Somewhat similar horse-bits to the Cypriot ones are those discovered at Mycenae<sup>79</sup> and belonging to the Bronze Age. The time which separates them speaks decisively against any connexion. Strangely enough, however, a Cypriot horse-bit from a non-scientific context and which, in any case, looks more advanced than the 8th century examples, bears the greatest similarities to the Mycenaean one<sup>80</sup>. A comparison of the two shows that on the cheek-pieces of both there are triangular holes, one on each side-bar. The mouth-piece consists, on both, of two pieces of twisted wire but on the Cypriot example there are two more loops, joining the two parts of the mouth-piece. I really wonder what their relationship is. Is the Cypriot example of much earlier date than we presumed, despite its advanced look? Another late Mycenaean example comes from a tomb in Miletus and has its mouth-piece untwisted<sup>81</sup>.

The Cypriot 8th century horse-bits have their origin elsewhere and this is to be sought in the Orient. Bossert made a comparison between the Milesian example and the one indicated on a horse's head from the 8th century Sincirli<sup>82</sup>; this comparison is exactly the one which fits the Cypriot specimens in an excellent way. Some more examples, dating back to the 9th century, are mentioned by Anderson<sup>83</sup>.

### Blinker

The earliest examples from Greek lands are two 8th century examples from Miletus but more are known from 7th century contexts from Samos, Lindos and Eretria<sup>84</sup>. Whether these objects came directly from the Levantine coast<sup>85</sup>, or through Cyprus we are not sure. Cypriot examples are really plentiful not only in bronze but also in ivory or plated with gold<sup>86</sup> so we must not exclude the possibility of the transmission of the blinkers to the Aegean from the Levant via Cyprus at the end of the 8th century.

### Front-bands

This is another item of the horse's gear. It is well known in CAI Cyprus but not earlier<sup>87</sup>. It was used to protect the fore-part of a horse's head. Their origin was attributed by Gjerstad to North Syria<sup>88</sup>, whence they came to Cyprus and from this island they were exported to Lindos, Rhodes<sup>89</sup>, possibly in the 7th century B.C. Two gold plated ones were found along with the gold plated blinkers, in Salamis tomb 47<sup>90</sup>.

## 6. KNIVES

What is treated here as a knife is a relatively short, single-edged metal object. In the 12th Century, Aegean knives exert influence on Cyprus<sup>91</sup>. When, however, we enter the next century, a certain all-iron type of knife is found for the first time in Aegean sites, the earliest being probably one from Gypsades tomb VII<sup>92</sup> and two from Perati<sup>93</sup> tombs 28 and 38. One from Vrokastro chamber-tomb I may be contemporary despite the wide chronological range of the content of the tomb. All four knives may be of the first half of the 11th century<sup>94</sup> with a probable date c.1075 or soon afterwards. They show no close affinities in shape with Cyprus<sup>95</sup> but as other scholars have observed<sup>96</sup>, the technique of their manufacture is similar to the one met in Cyprus (Fig.A1) and the Levant during this time or a little earlier. In both regions, knives of the first half of the 11th century are made of iron but with bronze rivets securing hilt-plates of other material<sup>97</sup>. More material of the same period and in the same technique is mentioned now as coming from Lefkandi<sup>98</sup>.

As the process of manufacturing hard iron implements was a difficult one<sup>99</sup>, it is not impossible that the Aegean examples are actual imports<sup>100</sup> "from or through Cyprus" from further East<sup>101</sup> where the same technique was known even earlier than Cyprus<sup>102</sup>. It certainly took time for the inhabitants of Greece to master the new techniques of the newly "discovered" material.

In conclusion, we can say that although the shape of

the iron knives with bronze rivets was not <sup>exactly</sup> ~~very much~~ the same in Cyprus and the Aegean, still the former influenced Lefkandi, Attica (Perati) and Crete (Knossos, Vrokastro) C.1075<sup>103</sup>. The shape of the knives may not be of special interest for useful inferences but the new material, namely iron, is of the greatest importance for it gradually gave rise to a new era. Its lasting effects sealed up a whole chapter of Greek history and tentatively opened a new one. These iron knives can be regarded as the dawn of the Greek Iron Age.

#### 7. PINS

In LHIIIIC and sub-Mycenaean Greece the pins have usually circular shafts, a disc at the top and a globular bead a short way down the shaft<sup>104</sup>. A rarer short-lived type has an elongated swelling topped by numerous strong ring-mouldings instead of the single disc at the top of the first variety. A third type from Argos has the one end in the form of a narrow spatula and according to Dr Snodgrass it is of Near Eastern origin<sup>105</sup>. A fourth type has an almost flat swelling with incisions on both sides and a fifth one called "roll-topped" pin is derived again from the Near East<sup>106</sup>. The pins of this period were made of bronze, while in the Protogeometric period the metal used was iron though the forms of the previous period were maintained.



In Attica, the first type has sometimes iron shank but the bead is made of bronze; it is a separate piece altogether with a hole in the middle and threaded on to the shank. The similar sub-Mycenaean pins of bronze were cast in one<sup>107</sup>. Certain variations of the above mentioned types exist especially in the course of time from early sub-Mycenaean to late Protogeometric and beyond but we shall not examine them; we shall confine ourselves to the types which show connexions with Cyprus.

The fifth type with the rolled top is encountered in the Near East as we have said, and in Cyprus it is known in the Late Bronze Age and the CG period<sup>108</sup>. These Cypriot pins usually have short shafts and the upper end is hammered flat and then spirally twisted<sup>109</sup>.

The same sort of pin is also found in Greece. It is known from sub-Mycenaean Salamis and Kerameikos<sup>110</sup>, from tomb Z of the first cave at Diakata (111) which may be contemporary with the Athenian examples and from the post Protogeometric cist-tomb No.6 at Halos<sup>112</sup>, Thessaly. Whether the last example is an older survival or a contemporary imitation from Cyprus is not certain<sup>113</sup>.

Another type of pin found in 12th and 11th century tombs in Cyprus and very probably copied in the Aegean is one with ivory head<sup>114</sup>. In Greece, it is known from late sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric Athens<sup>115</sup> and early sub-Minoan Crete<sup>116</sup>.

The case of the so-called vase-headed pins<sup>117</sup> is interesting but it is very doubtful whether they show any connexions

or not<sup>118</sup>. This kind in Greece is actually Snodgrass' type I but with a conventional vase on the top disc. In Greece, they appear after the beginning of the Protogeometric period in Attica and also in certain other districts, usually slightly later. The Cypriot examples are different<sup>119</sup>. The pin is topped by a globe on which there is a projection; the combination does not look very much like a vase. In fact, by Gjerstad the whole finial is called pomegranate<sup>120</sup>. In any case, and even if we accept it as something like a vase, where is the disc topping the shank and on which the vase rests? The pins from Kerameikos<sup>121</sup> which Catling quotes as parallels to the Cypriot specimens look incomplete so we cannot speak with certainty about their actual shape. The same holds good for the one from Mouliana whose globe is biconical rather than globular as is the practice on the Cypriot pins.

The conclusion we thus reach is that Cyprus influenced Attica in the end of sub-Mycenaean and the beginning of Protogeometric period with the roll-topped pin which she herself had probably borrowed from the East, and the pin with ivory head. The former type at the same period directly or indirectly influenced Kephallenia. The latter type influenced Crete in the sub-Minoan period.

## 8. FIBULA

Among the scholars who have dealt with this subject, special mention must be made of Blinkenberg's pioneer work, along with the works of Stronach and J. Birmingham. This does not mean that the work of others is not of considerable interest; it is simply not so voluminous. In fact, what follows is largely based on Catling's treatment of the subject in connexion with the valuable work of Einar Gjerstad.

The fibula was introduced to Cyprus from the Aegean, very probably by the first wave of immigrants, in the end of the 13th century<sup>122</sup>. The earliest types were variants of Furumark's violin-bow fibula with bow usually flattened but not exactly parallel to the pin because of the elongation of the forearm<sup>123</sup>. Occasionally it acquired two buttons on either side of the bow. A second type with semi-circular bow corresponds in many ways to Furumark's arched types<sup>124</sup>, while a third one, the so-called D-shaped or arched had developed by about 1075 B.C.<sup>125</sup>

The type which is our main concern is the third one, Catling's type C with its subdivisions, so we shall follow its evolution throughout the Cypro-Geometric period.

Sub-type C(a) consists of pin, spring, rounded bow and stilted forearm. Very probably it is not earlier than 1075<sup>126</sup>. In Cyprus it is found at Lapithos, Kaloriziki and Kouklia<sup>127</sup>. In the Aegean it is known from Vrokastro in sub-Minoan context and from the remarkable sub-Mycenaean grave 108 from Kerameikos<sup>128</sup>. In both regions it has a twisted bow. Aegean and

Cypriot material seems contemporary but Catling is possibly right seeing influence from the former on the latter, as the earliest Cypriot examples from Kaloriziki tomb No.40 may be Greek imports.

Sub-type C(b): Same as the previous one but with two modest, usually barrel-shaped beads, one at each end of the bow with mouldings on either side and thin slender members at the beginning, soon growing thicker. Its emergence can possibly be fixed slightly earlier than 1050 B.C. but it surely cannot predate 1075<sup>129</sup> in Cyprus. In the Aegean on the contrary, it is present in the middle sub-Mycenaean grave 42<sup>130</sup> and the late sub-Mycenaean No.108 in Kerameikos. Both finds indicate Attica as the source from which it is spread to Cyprus<sup>131</sup>. Immediately after the beginning of CGI, the production of this kind of fibulae became finer with well defined parts and pleasing appearance and it lasted till mid-CGII<sup>132</sup>.

Sub-type C(c): Its only discrepancy from C(b) is an additional bead on the forearm. In Cyprus it emerged between 1050-1000 B.C. which means that it is an early divergence of the two-beaded variety<sup>133</sup>. It shows no connexions with the Aegean. Its production ceased in the early CGIII.

A development of sub-type C(c) is C(d). It again has the same three beads which now become prominent biconical bosses. It is small with thick components, and much clumsier in comparison with the previous elegant type. The precursor of the series is Lapithos tomb 602 No.41<sup>134</sup>. It is still



a fine piece but two of its three bosses look biconical. It is CGIB, possibly late. The type lasted down to the Archaic period<sup>135</sup> and shows no connexions with Greece.

A fifth variety not referred to by Catling, Gjerstad's type 2d, which we shall term here C(e), emerged in CGIII<sup>136</sup>. It has beaded bow and forearm and foreshadows the next all-beaded form which we shall call C(f). This latter form was imported or imitated in Greek lands (Vrokastro, Aegina, etc.) around 700 B.C. or afterwards<sup>137</sup>.

Another kind of collared-and-beaded semi-circular fibula sometimes with two collars between the beads was formed in the end of CGIII or the beginning of CAI according to Gjerstad<sup>138</sup>. Ten examples were recorded from Lindos but their date is not certain. We may loosely attribute them to the years around 700 B.C.

Another Cypriot type the so-called knobbed "a gomito" fibula of CAI was found in its developed form<sup>139</sup> at Lindos, Aegina and Kameiros. They may be Cypriot imports but no precise dating can be given for them. Probably they date after 700 B.C. rather than earlier.

Lastly, we have to mention the "Boeotian" type of fibula with broad, crescent-like, symmetrical bow. It found its way to Cyprus around 720 B.C. as a tomb of a warrior from Paphos tells us<sup>140</sup>. More pieces are known from the island but they do not come from scientific contexts<sup>141</sup> (pl.36b).

After what we have said, we can assume that the fibulae

were introduced to Cyprus from the Aegean in the end of the 13th century by Aegean immigrants. Catling's type C and its sub-divisions whose main features are, pin, spring, rounded bow, stilted forearm, with or without bosses was also introduced to Cyprus in the second quarter of the 11th century, possibly from Attica. After that, influence in either direction seems to be interrupted for a while. It took a long time for a reverse movement to take place. It happened C.700 and the current was towards Rhodes, Crete, Aegina, while in the same period the crescent-like Boeotian fibula found its way to Cyprus C.720 B.C.

#### 9. FIREDOGS

This is a metal implement whose function was confined to support spits over or near a fire in order to roast meat<sup>142</sup>.

The firedogs discovered till today from Cyprus and the Aegean are very few. Four from the former district<sup>143</sup> and four from the latter are all that we have. They were found in tombs and in pairs, and they were badly corroded as they were made of iron. The one pair of the Cypriot firedogs was discovered in Salamis tomb 79 a really "Royal" tomb in wealth<sup>144</sup> (pl.37a) while the other two accompanied a warrior from Paphos (145), on the other side of the island. On grounds of pottery we dated the Paphian tomb C.720 B.C.<sup>146</sup> and this date seems to

be corroborated by the fact that two of the Aegean firedogs were discovered in the panoply tomb from Argos dated at the beginning of the last quarter of the 8th century<sup>147</sup> or between 720-710 according to Dr Snodgrass<sup>148</sup>. The rest turned up from Kavousi in Crete long ago and were not products of scientific excavation. In any case, the pottery accompanying them was according to Boardman<sup>149</sup> Late Geometric or very early Early Orientalizing which again means a time around 720 B.C.

This remarkable chronological coincidence does not permit us to see to which direction the influence moves. Is it, however, fortuitous that three Aegean LG skyphoi were discovered along with the firedogs in the Paphian tomb? Can we place any significance on that and to what extent can we regard it as an evidence of influence from the Aegean on Cyprus? Was it possible for the Paphian warrior to purchase skyphoi and firedogs something like 20-30 years earlier and then have them with him in his journey into the unknown? This hypothesis is incapable of proof. Its main obstacle being the lack of evidence from the Aegean before 720 B.C. At all events, the Cypriot and Aegean firedogs are in the shape of stylized warships with arched supports, something which only a maritime society could manufacture. If we compare them with Aegean LG drawings on vases like the warship on a pedestalled krater in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York<sup>150</sup>, or a warship on a sherd from Warsaw<sup>151</sup> we can see how remarkably close they are. I should rather suggest Aegean influence on Cyprus<sup>152</sup> than the opposite.

The numerous European and especially the Italian fire-dogs need not be earlier than the 7th century as Prof. Stuart Piggott has demonstrated in a recent article<sup>153</sup>. The statement by others that there are 8th century Italian examples cannot be substantiated<sup>154</sup> so I regard the European ones as Aegean derivatives, despite the fact that the former are not in the shape of stylized ships.

With the Aegean and Cypriot firedogs, bundles of spits -obeloi-<sup>155</sup> were discovered and their source must be the same as they were indispensable implements of the firedogs.

The shape of the firedogs aroused the interest of archaeologists and we have two different explanations for it. Courbin connects it with practical reasons and the maritime interest of the deceased whom they accompanied<sup>156</sup>. W. Déonna is of the opinion that they were supposed to transfer the soul to the underworld<sup>157</sup>. Boardman, in a discussion of both cases, favours a practical use, their shape with the over-hanging prow and stern - the keel was a simple flat rod - preventing the spits from rolling away<sup>158</sup>. Courbin's explanation seems the most likely one but I think the shape of the warship was adopted because of the maritime interest of the society as a whole and not only because of the dead man's love for the sea. This, I think, is reflected on the Italian and European fire-dogs which changed form and preferred animal muzzles instead of ships' prows, expressing thus the interest of their respective societies.



10. CANDELABRUM

Under this name we refer to a special type of metal lamp-stand, which is very probably of Cypriot origin. It is composed of a cylindrical socket which can be mounted on a wooden stick. Above the socket there is one, but more often two, foliage capitals consisting of lotus petals curving downwards and then inwards. On top of these, there is a flat projection on which three flat metal-sticks, terminating in volutes, stand, and which we had better call after Gjerstad "scroll-supports". A ring was attached on them before their curvature started in order to keep them together.

Several candelabra were discovered in Cyprus<sup>159</sup>, Phoenicia<sup>160</sup>, Rhodes<sup>161</sup>, Samos<sup>162</sup> and further west.

Most probably the above type of candelabrum was created by Cypriot artists based on Oriental inspiration<sup>163</sup>. If we examine a house-model from Tell-Halaf with a central column, of the second half of the 8th century, it is very easy to recognise the source of inspiration. The column lacks the scroll-supports but the central stem and the foliage are there<sup>164</sup>. Such columns were made individually on a miniature scale and in various materials, especially metals and ivory<sup>165</sup>, and it seems that they were modified by the Cypriots to what we here call "candelabrum"<sup>166</sup> (Pl.37b). As the original oriental objects are dated in the second half of the 8th century, the Cypriot candelabra ought not to antedate 750 B.C. and till now we have none which belongs to an earlier date<sup>167</sup>.

All the examples we have from Greek lands seem to post-

date 700 B.C. although one cannot be entirely certain about that as they were usually dated after the Cypriot examples which were supposed to be of 7th century. What we can conclude is that c.700 B.C. Cyprus influences Samos and perhaps Rhodes (Lindos) by means of actual imports at least at the beginning.

11. HEMISPHERICAL BOWL AND CAULDRON MADE OF METAL

In Cyprus, the hemispherical bowl of the Iron Age has plenty of antecedents in the LC period<sup>168</sup>. They were made of one sheet of metal and they were undecorated; their diameter usually ranged between 14 and 21 cm. and the height varied from 6 to 8 cm. This, of course, does not mean that there were no bigger examples. Occasionally the rim was stilted, sometimes it was only thickened. The metal used was almost always bronze but we have cases of gold<sup>169</sup> and silver<sup>170</sup>.

In the latter part of the CG period sometimes they acquire handles and a new type with decoration emerges. The decorated bowl will be examined independently as it forms a special category<sup>171</sup>.

In the Aegean, although rare, it is known in the Late Bronze Age from Crete and possibly Tiryns<sup>172</sup>. In the Greek Iron Age, the first example we have comes from the Attic late

Protogeometric tomb 48 of the Kerameikos cemetery<sup>173</sup>.

A little later we have more specimens from tombs 1, 7, 13, 38 and 74 ranging from EG to MG<sup>174</sup>. Their diameter varies between 13.6 and 19 cm. As the gap separating the Aegean Late Bronze hemispherical bowls from their late Protogeometric and later Athenian counterparts is very great, it is clear that the appearance of the shape is due to external influence. As the hemispherical bowl was fully at home in CGI-II Cyprus<sup>175</sup>, the source of this influence is very possibly Cyprus<sup>176</sup>.

The present current affected not only Attica but also Crete. From Fortetsa we have what Brock calls shallow bowls. They are hemispherical, made of bronze and at least two of them bear a simple loop-handle. Three of them are EPG and the others could well be LPG<sup>177</sup>. Their height, when given, varies between 5.5 and 7.5 cm. Their diameter is between 12 and 15 cm.

The hemispherical bowls gave rise to the cauldrons around 750 B.C. The difference between the two shapes lies in the fact that the cauldrons' walls are higher and tend to close at the top, becoming thus the major portion of a sphere. They are also quite bigger and they are certainly an evolution of the hemispherical bowl.

The earliest Cypriot example comes from Dikaïos' "Royal" tomb at Salamis<sup>178</sup> (pl.38a). It was connected with rich Attic MGII pottery and we dated it c.750 B.C.<sup>179</sup> It has evenly curving sides and terminates in a flat rim. Its greatest diameter is 33 cm. but the mouth's diameter measures only

24 cm. across. It contained cremated remains. Traces of a lid were found in the cauldron. A second example comes from a warrior's tomb at Palaépaphos<sup>180</sup>. It was made of bronze, as indeed all of them were, with a kind of flat rim made of iron and fixed with bronze rivets on the mouth. A convex lid with an iron loop-handle fits well on the rim and makes the cauldron look like a depressed sphere. Diameter at the mouth 24 cm. The tomb was dated elsewhere C.710 B.C.<sup>181</sup> From Polis tis Chrysochou in western Cyprus we have two more examples. The bigger of the two is 46 cm. in its greatest diameter<sup>182</sup>. One more from Kourion has a lid like the Paphian cauldron, marked shoulder line and short erect lip<sup>183</sup>. Nothing is certain about their dating but we could tentatively assign them to the time of the dated ones.

Turning to Attica, we have cauldrons from the graves 71, 72, 55 and also a stray find, Inv. M.132, all four from Kerameikos<sup>184</sup>. The tombs date to LGIb, transitional LGIb-IIa and LGIIb respectively<sup>185</sup>, in other words the cauldrons belong to the second half of the 8th century, the earliest perhaps being manufactured C.750 B.C. A possibility, however, of <sup>their</sup> being perhaps a quarter of a century earlier exists<sup>186</sup>. The remains from tomb 55 show that it was made of lead. Its rim was erect and only 1 cm. high; the diameter of the mouth was 12.5 cm. and there was a lid with ring-shaped handle. The cauldron from tomb 71 was made of bronze; it has marked shoulder line and it was covered with the remains of what was perhaps a



leadern lid. The rim was short and erect. Its diameter is 29.5 cm. The third one from grave 72 is 44 cm. in diameter smoothly rounded and provided with three iron legs and handles which do not survive.

Between Cyprus and Attica there are obvious connexions. The nicked shoulder on some examples from both districts, the erect lip and the general similarity in shape, favour close contact. Their emergence is nearly contemporary but nonetheless the appearance of the Attic ones c. 750 B.C. precedes the Cypriot examples by 10-20 years. The former, thus, have the edge over the latter. The Salaminian cauldron of the "Royal" tomb, may even be an import, if we take into consideration the fact that it was accompanied <sup>by</sup> ~~with~~ more than 30 Attic MG skyphoi. Corroborative for this assumption is also the fact that the cauldron contained the ashes of a deceased, and the same happened clearly in the Kerameikos tomb 71, where the earliest Attic example was recovered<sup>187</sup>. Cremation is an exception in Cyprus in the Iron Age. Possibly, it was introduced from abroad in the end of CGIII or the beginning of CAI. Its source is rather the Aegean and probably Attica, where cremation never ceased to exist in the Geometric period. In fact, it had a certain degree of popularity in the end of the LG period. Now, if this Salaminian cauldron is really an import, Dr Snodgrass' suggestion that the Attic one from tomb 71 is of MGII (supra) is likelier to be correct.

Metal cauldrons of the same kind and containing the ashes of the dead were discovered at Eretria<sup>188</sup>. We have one

type with high walls not curving inwards and we also have the other two types with or without a nick on the shoulder. The first one seems the earliest of the three and it was rightly attributed by Schefold ~~to~~ the first half of the 8th century<sup>189</sup>. Their connexion with Attica is more than certain<sup>190</sup> and as the evidence stands today, the source of origin of these metal-cauldrons seems to be Eretria.

To the evidence from the latter district corresponds the Cretan one from Arkades<sup>191</sup>. The same sort of cauldrons of probable EO period and afterwards were used to receive the ashes of the dead and the same was also true for Thera<sup>192</sup>.

It seems that the origin of the metal-cauldron may be sought in Eretria, whence it was spread to Attica, Crete and Thera. In all probability Attica was the district which influenced Cyprus in mid-8th century.

## 12. METAL ATTACHMENTS ON CAULDRONS

Such objects are known from many countries of the ancient world. They are in various shapes and they are found not only on simple rounded cauldrons or tripod cauldrons but also on lebetes supported on a high foot.

One of the many types of attachments, is the lotus flower. Jacobsthal and later Muscarella<sup>193, 194</sup> have already

commented on it. The latter accepts Cyprus as its source of origin. The flowers spring up from the top of the handles. The lotus is very stylized, consisting of two sepals and a bud between them (pl.38b). It is very common in the 7th century Greece<sup>195</sup> but almost unknown earlier.

In Cyprus, it has occurred in two tombs at Amathus.

One example comes from tomb 13 in which an Attic MGII krater was discovered. It cannot post-date 740 B.C. In fact, it can be a little earlier, if we follow Gjerstad's statement on the contents of the tomb<sup>196</sup>. The second example, Amathus tomb 21 No.42, offers chronological difficulties<sup>197</sup>. It was found in the mouth of a Wh.P.I. amphora and the burial stratum for both was ascribed by Gjerstad to the end of CGIB or the transitional period to CGII. Certainly, in the light of the above evidence, the attribution of the bronze bowl with the lotus flower attachment would seem correct but, if we take account of the great chronological gap between the example in tomb 13 and this one, then we ought to have certain reservations. In the grave where it was found, there was a Hellenistic burial stratum and also another one of the end of CGII. Quite arbitrarily, one could assume that the bronze bowl belongs to the last-mentioned burial instead of the first and that somebody placed it in the mouth of the Wh.P.I. amphora during the funeral. We could thus have two examples of dated bowls with lotus flower attachments, one of late CGII and one of late CGIII period at the latest. This arbitrary hypothesis is strengthened by the similarities

of the two bowls which favour a proximity in time for their manufacture. Both have their handles mounted on 8-shaped plaques which are rivetted on the bowl<sup>198</sup>. The diameter of the specimen from tomb 13 is 16 cm. and the one from tomb 21 is 19. This type of bowl with the lotus flower-handle-attachment was imitated in clay in type III and IV pottery<sup>199</sup>.

Its emergence precedes anything similar known from East or West, so it was spread from Cyprus to both directions<sup>200</sup>. In the same current of influence belong the 7th century Attic imitations in clay from Kerameikos<sup>201</sup>. The lotus-flower handles are found on footed cauldrons or lebetes. They are also known in other parts of Greece like Ithaka and Crete. Arkades, from the latter island offers a badly corroded example with this sort of handle<sup>202</sup> and Kavousi another one.<sup>203</sup>

The other types of decorative attachments need not be discussed in detail. Several forms are common from Armenia to Etruria and their first appearance is generally in the 8th century. The so-called sirens are completely unknown in Cyprus, and according to O.W. Muscarella they were manufactured in North Syria and not Urartu as is the opinion of many scholars<sup>204</sup>. This of course has its weak point and seems less likely, as they would then be expected in Cyprus.

The bull protome attachments are regarded as of Urartian origin<sup>205</sup>, but here the problem is a little perplexed. In Cyprus such an attachment was discovered in level 3 of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition at Idalion, dated by them in the last



phase of LCIII<sup>206</sup> (pl.39a). Catling's view<sup>207</sup> is that it could be LCIII but at the same time its close affinity to Urartian 8th century examples of this kind is unmistakable. This Cypriot piece has a small ring at the back of the bull's neck and a bigger swinging ring fitted through it. To the same tradition belong two more pieces of a single cauldron which enriched the collection of the Cyprus Museum in 1967 and they were attributed by Dr Karageorghis to the 7th century<sup>208</sup>. The connexion of these bulls to the one from Idalion is obvious from the presence of the small ring at the back of the neck and the big swinging one fitted through it. Discrepancies of course exist, especially in the shape of the rivetted attachment-plate and the treatment of details. On the newly discovered examples the animal's muzzle is thin; eyes and wrinkles are rendered in a rather decorative way and while the Idalion piece is made in such a way in order to face inwards (inside the cauldron) the other two which are more advanced, are facing outwards. After the new acquisitions by the Cyprus Museum, the problem of the chronology of the Idalion attachment arises once more. Is the Idalion example really as early as LCIIIB? It is really puzzling if so. If it is not, what is the connexion with the rest of the 8th century material? Catling's statement that on internal grounds it could be of LCIII date is correct but from that time we have not a single specimen whatsoever which could be rivetted on a cauldron or any other kind of metal bowl. All the bulls' heads are attached to tripods in an altogether different fashion<sup>209</sup>. We

have said earlier that the Idalion bull-attachment was discovered in level 3, of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Immediately above that, we have level 4 which contained the fragments of type I and II pottery and plenty late III and early IV. In between the two, no other layer could be distinguished<sup>210</sup>. Now, is it impossible for the bull attachment to be an intruder from this layer? Obviously, such a question cannot be answered today so we are left in uncertainty over its connexions to the Urartian or North Syrian material. In Cyprus, it seems that we have an influence from these regions<sup>211</sup>, which recently became clearer, after the discovery of the two cauldrons in the Royal tomb 79 at Salamis<sup>212</sup>. One of them was decorated with three bulls' protomes, attached on the rim below each one of the two loop-handles. The extraordinary thing was that they were facing inwards exactly as the piece from Idalion should do. The tomb was ascribed to the end of the 8th century.

A third category of cauldron-attachments are the griffins. In Cyprus, eight of them decorate the rim of the other cauldron of tomb 79, along with four sphinxes. Each one of the latter is set between griffins, which are rivetted on the wings of the sphinxes and, in turn, the wings are used as the plate attached on the cauldron. Obviously, four such plates are present. It is a unique piece, measuring 94 cm. at the widest point and being 51 cm. in height.

Here, we shall not enter the "war" of the origin of the griffin but we shall confine ourselves to the observation that

this piece is in the same tradition of the other griffin-attachments from the Greek lands. The shape of the tripod on which the cauldron was supported favours North Syrian influence<sup>213</sup> which is clearer on the second example of tomb 79 with a high conical foot. Akurgal holds the view that the Greek griffins were modelled after Neo-Hittite prototypes<sup>214</sup>. At all events, it seems that the idea of the griffin's head originates in North Syria<sup>215</sup> and whether the Greeks were the first to use it on cauldrons or not, we cannot be sure. The shape of the cauldron with the high conical foot, an example of which was seen in the Salaminian Royal tomb No.79, is definitely earlier than 714 in the Levant, when Sargon II depicted it in relief in Khorsabad<sup>216</sup>. On none of these reliefs, however, is there any kind of attachment and one wonders whether this was a deliberate omission by the artist or a real fact. I tend to regard the second possibility<sup>as</sup> stronger, as the artists of the Assyrian epoch omitted nothing of what existed and we even have trifling things depicted many times in their work.

The conclusion we finally reach is that the lotus-flower attachment which was attached to the handle and not the rim of bowls or cauldrons was invented in Cyprus near the end of CGII and it was transferred to the Aegean in the end of the 8th century or the beginning of the 7th. As for the bulls' protomes, they were possibly invented in Urartu and Cyprus perhaps played an intermediate role for its expansion to the west. The same may also be true for the griffin-attachments which are probably of North Syrian origin.

Since Gjerstad wrote his most valuable article<sup>217</sup> on Cypriot decorated metal bowls, little new material has come to light. One bowl from Kouklia<sup>218</sup> is 4.5 cm. high and 16 cm. in diam. Its central and sole decoration is a rosette with petals executed partly by incisions and partly in repousse. It is made of bronze. The associated finds date it in the first quarter of the 7th century.

The second is made of silver and was discovered in tomb 2 at Salamis<sup>219</sup>. The decoration was engraved and two "layers" are distinguished, the one superimposed on the other. Both "layers" were strongly Egyptinizing but very possibly of Cypriot origin. Egyptian manufacture is excluded as a zone of hieroglyphs is meaningless and has been used only as decoration. Dr Karageorghis attributes the first execution to Gjerstad's Cypro-Egyptian II style and the superimposed one to his Cypro-Egyptian III early. It can be assigned to a burial of late CAI, dated thus in the first quarter of the 7th century according to the system worked out here.

In this chapter about the Cypriot decorated metal bowls our intention is not to shed more light on the perplexing problems concerned with their origin, connexions with other Near Eastern countries and subsequently with the West - this task was undertaken by Gjerstad and we can offer nothing new<sup>220</sup> - but to see what is the relationship of the Kerameikos example discovered by Kübler to the Cypriot series. This bowl from Attica is the earliest of its kind in the Greek lands. It was



dated by various scholars in the second half of the 9th century<sup>221</sup>. Coldstream whose chronological scheme we have tried to follow throughout this work, dates it more precisely soon after 850 B.C. It is regarded as a North Syrian import and its close stylistic affinities to a bowl from Idalion<sup>222</sup> are unmistakable. The latter was dated by Gjerstad in the later part of the 8th century<sup>223</sup>. That it is Cypriot there is no doubt. The representation on the bowl of a belly-handled amphora - Black-on-Red I(III)? - and a jug or an oinochoe, speaks with certainty of Cypriot origin. The date, however, suggested for it seems rather low. In relation to Gjerstad's classification of the CG pottery series, the amphora does not show at all the characteristics of type IV. The greatest width is not at the shoulder and the latter is not at all flattened; the neck is not straight, all these being features of type IV amphorai. On the contrary, the body is a beautiful ovoid, with the greatest circumference at the belly and gracefully concave neck, indications of early than late type III. The use, however, of two rows of small concentric circles on the shoulder, though the motif was known from CGIIB<sup>224</sup>, is not seen on very early CGIII amphorai, so we may attribute it to the middle of this stage. My inclination is that the amphora, engraved on the bowl, may be of the last quarter of the 9th century at the latest with more probability of being c.825 B.C. The other engraved vase does not contradict this date at all. The parallels which Gjerstad quotes as related to it are not close enough

for comparisons apart from the angular handle of his fig.

2a<sup>225</sup>. The Amathusian trefoil-lipped oinochoe which he quotes for this comes from tomb 15<sup>226</sup>. The burial in which it belongs was the final one and Gjerstad writes of it "The gifts of the third burial contained, together with Types I-II, also pottery of Type III. This burial thus can be dated to the Cypro-Geometric III period<sup>227</sup>". This is the description and it gives not hint, whatsoever, of the late stage of Type III. In fact, it would be very surprising if it were so. In these circumstances this vase is also corroborative of an early or mature type III dating.

Turning back to the bowl from Ker. grave 42, if it was really a North Syrian original work, then the Cypriot example, being an imitation of its style, cannot come much afterwards. The date of C.825 which we reached earlier seems very probable for its manufacture. If this is sound, then a date for the Ker. bowl soon after 850 is likely enough. On both bowls the style is lively; on both we have the same simple and heavy figures with rather naive expressions, the same large eyes and protruding noses.

Cyprus got the idea of the decorated metal bowl from the Levant-North Syria, Phoenicia, Egypt - and became a flourishing centre for its manufacture. That it had played a considerable part in the influence of the West in this particular object is suggested by the great numbers of them found in the island. This of course does not prove that they went further West but

as we have a lot of 8th century Cypriot exports in that direction, I do not think that the decorated metal bowls were kept solely for the island's market. More accurate conclusions cannot be drawn because of the mutual influences of the Oriental styles before they were spread abroad.

#### 14. JEWELLERY

This category of objects can apparently offer much, as they are in most instances not perishable and they can be used for comparisons. On the other hand, their permanent character allows unlimited life which makes the task of dating them quite difficult, even when found in an undisturbed and well dated tomb. Additional difficulties are offered because many of the jewels in the museums are products of illicit or unscientific excavations. Another obstacle is that their basic shape sometimes does not change for centuries, so possible connexions ought to be viewed with the utmost care, taking into consideration shape, technique, material and where possible chronology.

In the early 11th century various pieces of jewellery from Perati are reported to be imports from Cyprus<sup>228</sup>.

Among the 101 finger-rings the greatest number were of silver and the next greater number of gold. They were mostly

simple like today's engagement rings. One of the bronze rings from tomb 25 (No.M74) is coiled twice, being thus a spiral ring with a diam. of 1.3 cm. and a second one made of the same material from tomb 108 (No.M.143) consists of two simple rings attached to each other with a diam. of 2.5 cm.<sup>229</sup> Hair rings (spiral-rings) were also present; 3 in gold, 1 in silver and two in bronze<sup>230</sup>. Five earrings all in gold but found singly, indicating that their duplicates were taken away during later interments, find their best parallels in Late Bronze Age Cyprus<sup>231</sup>. Beads of various shapes and made of precious or semi-precious material and stones like gold, ivory, faience, amber were really plentiful. Something like 1/8 of all small finds from Perati were made of gold, comprising 187 pieces but this gold, Prof. Iakovides stresses, does come from various countries and some pieces were possibly recast from earlier gold objects<sup>232</sup>. Finally, 63 pieces were of silver, 83 of ivory, 27 of faience. This richness in precious objects at a time when Greece was troubled and poverty-stricken shows contacts with other lands. The earrings speak of Cypriot influence in the 12th century, and the same source is indicated by a stamp-seal<sup>233</sup> and six pieces of the semi-precious haematite<sup>234</sup>. So Cyprus was probably one of the countries which had contact with Perati during the life of the latter community.

Jewels of gold, silver, ivory and faience from late sub-Mycenaean, late Protogeometric and Early Geometric Attica,



Argolid and Lefkandi are generally taken as suggesting contact with the East Mediterranean and Cyprus in particular<sup>235</sup>.

This chronological picture indicates a shortage of these commodities in middle Protogeometric period but this seems that it does not hold good for Crete<sup>236</sup> where such a shortage is not observable and links with Cyprus were never broken off entirely. At any rate, whether or not these suggestions of contacts are correct, no exact counterpart can be found in contemporary Cyprus.

In Attica we lack gold jewellery in <sup>almost</sup> the whole Protogeometric period. In Early Geometric we encounter the first simple pieces. They are wire spirals used possibly as hair-rings, thin finger-rings sometimes with Geometric patterns and thin diadems with the same simple linear decoration<sup>237</sup>. The wire spirals known as hair-rings are present in CGII, perhaps early, only in bronze<sup>238</sup>. In silver and gold we lack examples from scientific contexts<sup>239</sup>. Those we have are said to be of a much later date<sup>240</sup>. Finger-rings of thin metal are again known in Cyprus in bronze from CGI-II down to the Cypro-Classical period<sup>241</sup>. Sometimes a variety in gold with encircling "ridges" is known<sup>242</sup> but also plain ones, again in gold<sup>243</sup>.

The Attic finger-rings or hair-rings may be fashioned after Cypriot prototypes but this is not certain. The late sub-Mycenaeen gold hair-rings like Ker.IV taf.39 grave PG 22, Inv. M117 or Ker. IV, p.25 taf.39 from grave PG25 with only two coils may be due to Cypriot influence but nevertheless

from Perati we have similar examples which may denote a continuation of this form from earlier periods. This hair-ring had vanished in Attica for a whole century only to re-emerge in the late Protogeometric period, either in gold or bronze. As this interruption in their production seems certain, we suppose that it is a re-introduced article and we can possibly ascribe it to Cyprus. Thus, we can compare RDAC, 1965, pl. VIII:11, 12 (pl.39b) of CGI or probably CGII, to Ker. IV p.26, taf.39, grave PG 39 Inv. M24-26 or to Hesperia 6(1939), p.367 fig. 30 of late Protogeometric. From both districts the rings are in bronze. From Attica grave PG5, south of the Eridanos (Ker.I, taf.76) of similar date we have a pair in gold. Only in the second half of the 10th century we may have Cypriot influence on Attica. The late sub-Mycenaean ones may be heirlooms or a continuation of the older tradition.

Cypriot influence on Greece and especially Attica may be also true when referring to the filigree and granulation<sup>244</sup> techniques, supposed to have been forgotten in Greece after the collapse of the Mycenaean world. The most renowned pieces combining both techniques is a pair of earrings from an Attic EG grave from the Agora and published by E. Smithson<sup>245</sup>. They are unique and, as such, they do not allow easy conclusions. We can only agree with Smithson and others that they are probably the work of a Phoenician - I should say Levantine - craftsman, working under Greek orders.

The crescent-shaped earrings from tomb A and the Isis

grave at Eleusis with a third pair from Anavyssos<sup>246</sup>, belong to another category. The first are dated in the late 9th century and the others in the 8th. From unknown context but again possibly from Attica, we have another one in London. The crescent of these earrings is inlaid with precious stones or amber, having four or more pendants of twisted wire hanging from loops on the lower parts of the crescent. A simpler example of the above mentioned ones is a single piece of unknown provenance; it is supposed to be from Boeotia<sup>247</sup>. Higgins' description runs as follows. "Seven cord-like chains with pomegranate finials hang from a simple crescent decorated with triangular patches of granulation where the chains are attached: possibly an earlier version of the Eleusis type; possibly a contemporary variant."<sup>248</sup> To this category of earrings it seems that we may connect a pair of gold ones from the Cesnola excavations at Idalion (Dali). The body of the earring is not so much a crescent but nevertheless, it is thicker in the middle if we judge from Cesnola's sketch<sup>249</sup>. From four loops attached on it, we have four cord-like chains hanging, with finials looking like pomegranates, the latter hanging through further loops on the lower part of the cord-like chains. The chronology of the Idalion piece is unknown but there may be a connexion with the Greek ones, especially the one supposed to be from Boeotia. A Cypriot earring reported from Salamis<sup>250</sup> with three chains of interconnected loops may be in the same tradition but most probably it is

much later if we follow Mrs Pieridou's statement that earrings of this type continued to be manufactured down to the end of the 2nd, 3rd century A.D. and even afterwards in the 6th, 7th century A.D.<sup>251</sup>.

From the rest of the jewellery, connexions between Greece and Cyprus are shown in the bands of thin gold foil with embossed decoration, abstract at the beginning, with human figures afterwards. We shall call them from now on "diadems" for convenience, whether the term is correct or not. In Attica, they probably emerged in middle Geometric<sup>252</sup> and lasted till 720 B.C. according to Higgins<sup>253</sup>. As we said, their decoration was linear but after the emergence of Late Geometric they bear human representations which strongly favour oriental inspiration<sup>254</sup>. In Cyprus, leaving aside the Late Cypriot period when they are really plentiful, the earliest Geometric one we have comes from Lapithos tomb 425; it is simple, oblong, pierced by holes and its sides are convex with one end missing. Its length is 10.7 cm. and dates from CGIIA<sup>255</sup>. A second one from Amathus, tomb 6, slightly elliptical with sole decoration dotted lines along the edges and the middle, dates also from CGII and as no vases of type I were discovered with it, very possibly it belongs to CGIIB<sup>256</sup>. It is 12.9 cm. long. This diadem can be compared with a gold one from Fortetsa of LPG<sup>257</sup>. The dotting of the edges of the Cypriot example are paralleled on the Cretan one which was probably influenced from Cyprus. A third one from Cyprus of



the same period comes from Amathus tomb 15; it is damaged but its interest lies in the embossed rosettes which consist its decoration. Preserved length, 7.5 cm.<sup>258</sup> In CGIII no known example has come to light but we have quite a number from CA onwards<sup>259</sup> which makes it highly improbable that CGIII was a blank period on diadems. After all, most of the examples we have today are products of non-scientific excavations and we cannot be sure whether some of them belong to that period or not.

From what we have said, it is probable that the late 10th century hair-rings and the midninth century Attic diadems of thin gold may owe something to Cypriot inspiration. Apart, however, from a general resemblance of the diadems - narrow strips of thin gold foil - they also have their differences. Only for the diadem from Fortetsa of the first half of the 9th century can we speak of Cypriot influence with some certainty. The Attic ones are mainly around 30 cm. long<sup>260</sup>, though shorter examples are known<sup>261</sup>, while the Cypriot ones are as a rule shorter. From an Attic grave near Athens we have an undated example which probably belongs to the Geometric period<sup>262</sup>. The interesting fact here is that there was a gold band to encircle the face with a second elliptical part having a reserved hole for the lips. A third piece from the same tomb is the most interesting find. It is nearly rectangular with slightly convex sides, but without reserved hole for the mouth. There are two small holes, one at each end, and its

length is 16.5 cm. Despite the uncertain dating I hold the view that it is an early Geometric influence from Cyprus where we have seen it present in CGII. The Attic example is quite simple if not crude, so that a placing at the head of the Attic Geometric series is probable, suggesting Cypriot influence c.900 B.C. or not much afterwards.

Diadems were also discovered at Rhodes, Eretria and Corinth of possible 8th century date<sup>263</sup>. No comparisons are made with Cyprus, as none of these districts shows exact parallels to Cyprus, so we confine ourselves to the general statement that they borrowed the idea directly or indirectly through Attica from Cyprus.

After this discussion, it is quite clear that we cannot speak with certainty about connexions between the Aegean and Cyprus, apart from the case of the Attic late 10th century hair-rings and the Fortetsa diadem of the first half of the 9th century. Generally, there may be some Levantine imports in the early 11th century at Perati but afterwards the indications of connexions we have, start probably about 900 B.C. with the diadems, hair-rings, finger-rings, crescent-shaped earrings and the presence in Greece of the techniques of filigree and granulation which are regarded Oriental but known to Cyprus. In these circumstances, jewellery is surely not the best category of objects on which to base conclusions on connexions.

III. TABLE SHOWING MUTUAL INFLUENCES OF CYPRUS  
AND THE VARIOUS REGIAN DISTRICTS  
ARRANGED IN ORDER OF DATE

In this chapter, which is a summary of this thesis, the material will be treated in paired headings i.e. Influence of Cyprus on one Greek district and vice versa, then the same procedure will be followed for the next district and so on. Where the influence is continuous for a long time, the interesting date is the initial one, so we mostly refer only to that. At the same time, when Cypriot influence is felt on a Greek district through another one, such an influence is either omitted or the secondary nature of the case is made clear. A few very doubtful cases of connexions were omitted entirely.

In the following table we have four columns; the first one is for the type of the object, the second and third for the respective dates of the two regions and the fourth for a few remarks on what sort of influence we have, approximate absolute date, and the page or pages where more comments can be found in this thesis.

CYPRUS INFLUENCES ATTICA

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRLOT DATE</u>	<u>ATTIC DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Belly-handled amphora	LCIII <sup>B</sup> /CGI	Transitional to PG	Triple band on the lower part of the belly. C.1050 B.C. (17,18).
Cup	LCIIIB	late sub-Mycenaean	High conical foot. C.1075 B.C. (97).
Pilgrim flask	LCIIIB/CGI	sub-Mycenaean/PG	Shape. C.1100-1025 B.C. (153).
Multiple brush	LCIII <sup>B</sup> /CGI	sub-Mycenaean	Probably imported to Attica in the first half of the 11th century (227).
Knife	LCIIIA/B	LHIIIC	With bronze rivets but made of iron, from Perati. C.1075 B.C. (250-1).
Pin	LC/CGI	sub-Mycenaean	Roll-topped pin. 1100-1050 B.C. Taken to Kephallenia at the same time (via Attica?) (252).
	LCIIIB	late sub-Mycenaean/PG	With ivory head. C.1075 B.C. (252).
Bottle	LCIIIB	late sub-Mycenaean/transitional to PG	Shape. C.1050 B.C. (129).
Belly-handled amphora	LCIII <sup>B</sup> /CGI	early PG	With high neck and everted lip C.1050 B.C. (24,25).
	CGI	Transitional to PG	Double loop-handles like an animal's muzzle. C.1050 B.C. (18, 19).



<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>ATTIC DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
	LCIIIIB/CGI	early PG	Motif of the Maltese cross. Seen also on a footed tray. C.1050 B.C. (24, 164).
Lip-handled amphora	LCIII <sup>8</sup> /CGI	early PG	Shape and partly decoration. C.1050 B.C. (30).
Pyxis	LCIIIIB/CGI	early PG	Shape (rectangular). C.1050 B.C. (138 ff.).
Sword	CGI	transitional to PG	Snodgrass type I. Made of iron. C.1050 B.C. (238-9).
Ring vase	LCIIIIB/CGI	early PG	Shape. C.1050 B.C. (159).
Bird vase	LCIIIIB/CGI	early PG	Shape? Decorated with semi-circles. C.1025 B.C. (194).
Hemispherical bowl of metal	CGI/II	late PG ...	Mainly of bronze. 950-900 B.C. (261-2).
Side-spouted jug	CGI	late PG	Shape 950-900 B.C. (122).
Belly-handled amphora	LCIIIIB/CA	late PG	Loop-supports. 950-900 B.C. (18).
Skyphos	CGII	late PG	Plastic ring on the foot. 950-900 B.C. Spread also to Cyclades and Dodecanese (76,77).
Ring vase	CGI/II	late PG	Shape re-introduced? 950-900 B.C. (159).
Clay stand	CGI	late PG	Cylindrical stands. 950-900 B.C. (117).
Pilgrim flask	CGI	late PG	Shape. C.925 B.C. (153-4).
Cup	CGII	late PG/EG	Flat-based; shape. C.925 B.C. (98).

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>ATTIC DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Sword	LCIII?	late PG	Snodgrass' type IA, with evenly tapering blade from hilt to tip. C.925 B.C. (239).
Spearhead	CG/II	very late PG	Snodgrass' type G. Blade with shoulders terminating abruptly. C.900 B.C. (233).
Jewellery	CGII	late PG/EG	Finger rings, hair rings. The Attic ones mainly in gold, the Cypriot in bronze. 950-900 B.C. (276-7).
	CGII	EG?/MG	Diadems. Influence starting soon after 900 B.C. (279-281).
Kylix	CGII	EG	Ribbed stem. 900-875 B.C. (106-7).
Belly-handled amphora	CGII	EG	Ridge below rim. C.850 B.C. (23).
	CGIII/CA	MGII/LG	Loop-supports. Re-introduced? C.800 B.C. (18).
Lip-handled amphora	CGIII	trans- itional to MGII	Shape? C.800 B.C. (30,31,33).
Hydria	CGIII	MGII	Shape? C.775 B.C. (39).
Trefoil-lipped oinochoe	CGIII/CA	LG	Shape and decoration consisting of big concentric circles on the sides. C.740 B.C. (51).
Bird vase	CGIII/CA	LG	Shape. Also trefoil-lipped prochoi. C.750 B.C. (194-5).
Kernos	CGIII	LG	Free imitation of the shape. C.750 B.C. (158).

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>ATTIC DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Motif	CGIII	LG	Ritual of dancing with lyre player and branches held by the dangers. C.750 B.C. (227-9).
Skyphos	CGIII/CA	LG	Vertical motif consisting of two triangles touching with their apices a lozenge between them. C.740 B.C. (78, 9).
Clay tripods	CGII/III	LG	Shape with four legs; figured decoration. Influence from Cyprus? C.725. (115-6).
Hydria	CGIII/CA	LG	Placing of the handles on the ceremonial Hydriai? c.730 B.C. (41).
Cup	CGIII/CA	LG	Phaleron cup with greater diam. on the lip. C.725 B.C. (99).
Barrel-jug	CGIII/CA	LG	Shape. C.725 B.C. or a little earlier (134).
Olpe	CGIII/CA	LG	Adaptation of shape? C.725 B.C. (175-6).

ATTICA INFLUENCES CYPRUS

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>ATTIC DATE</u>	<u>CYPRIOIOT DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Spearhead	LHIIIC	LCIIIB	Snodgrass' type E. Short socket but long, narrow blade. It is a European type introduced to Cyprus from the Aegean (Attica?) C.1100 B.C. (233).
	sub-Mycenaeae	CGI	Snodgrass' type C. Small with leaf-shaped blade. C.1050 B.C. (232).
Fibula	sub-Mycenaeae	LCIIIB/CGI	Arched-type and variations. 1075-1025 B.C. (254-6).
Belly-handled amphora	transitional to PG	CGI	Concentric circles on belly. C.1050 B.C. (19).
Lekythos	sub-Mycenaeae	LCIIIB	Shape with narrow neck and partly the decoration. C.1075 B.C. (58,59).
Tombs	LHIIIC	LCIIIB?/CGI	With long dromos and converging sides. Influence from Perati or Crete. C.1050 B.C. (218-9).
Cremation	LHIIIC	LCIIIB	Seen only in Tomb No. 40 of Kaloriziki. No exact provenance from the Aegean can be quoted. 1075 B.C. or soon afterwards. (220).
Pyxis	sub-Mycenaeae	CGI	Globular with lug-handles. C.1050 B.C. (137-8).
Hydria	transitional to PG	CGI	Shape? 1050-1025 B.C. (34-5).



<u>TYPE</u>	<u>ATTIC DATE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Kalathos	late PG	CGIIB	Shape. C.925 B.C. (172-3).
Human figurines	late PG	CGIIB	Influence on the movable legs of the figurines. C.925 B.C. (209-10).
Spearhead	PG	CGII/CAI	Snodgrass' type D. C.875? (232).
Shield	late PG	CGIII	Actually shield-bosses. Second wave of influence coming from Attica. C.850 B.C. (First wave from Crete.) (241-2).
Skyphos	MG/LG	CGIII/CA	Shape, motifs. Also many imports. C.775 B.C. (79, 80 and 86-88).
Motifs	MGI	CGIII	Vertical row of chev- rons. C.775?B.C. (227).
	MGII	CGIII	Dot-rosette. C.775 B.C. (227).
	LGI	CGIII/CAI	Archer in silhouette chasing a bird. Soldiers with 8 shaped bodies, a misinter- pretation of the painted Athenian shields. C.750 B.C. (224-6).
	LGII	CA	Floating sigmas. C.725 B.C. (227).
Cauldron	MG/LG	CGIII/CA	Made of metal, usually bronze. They are the major portion of a sphere. Influence or import. C.750 B.C. (262-5).
Plate	MGII	CA	Double loop-handle applied on it. C.740 B.C. (163-4).

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>ATTIC DATE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Belly- handled amphora	LG	CA	Monumental size. C.740 B.C. (20)
Cremation	LG	CA	Derived either from Attica or Euboea. C.740 B.C. (220).
Krater	MGII	CA	Shape and partly decoration. C.720 B.C. (90 ff.)
Fibula	LG	CA	Import? Boeotian type. C.720 B.C. (256).

CYPRUS INFLUENCES CRETE

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>CRETAN DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Clay stand	LCIIIA/B	Karphi-Intermediate	Imitation in clay of a metal original. 1100-1050 B.C. (118).
Side-spouted jug	LCIIIA/B	sub-Minoan	Shape; spout opposite the handle. 1100 B.C. and afterwards (123 ff.)
Bird vases	LCIIIA/B - CG	sub-Minoan	Shape. 1100-925 B.C. (189-191)
Stirrup-vase	LCIIIB	sub-Minoan	Motif of the semi-circle within a triangle. 1100-1050 B.C. (107-8).
Pin	LCIIIA/B	sub-Minoan	With ivory head. 1100-1075 B.C. (252).
Knife	LCIIIB	sub-Minoan	With bronze rivets. C.1075 B.C. (250-1).
Pilgrim flask	LCIIIB/CGI	sub-Minoan (East-Crete)	Shape? 1100-1050 B.C. (148-151).
Kalathos	LCIIIB/CGI	sub-Minoan	Shape with handles near the sides of the body and hidden when looking at them from above. Also the foot on some of them. C.1050 B.C. and afterwards. (171).
Lekythos	LCIIIB	Karphi-Intermediate	Shape? Biconical body. <del>narrow</del> narrow conical foot and handle from shoulder to lip. C.1050 B.C. (59-60).
Bottle	LCIIIB	Karphi-Intermediate	Shape. C.1050 B.C. (130).

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIOIOT DATE</u>	<u>CRETAN DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Double loop-handle	CGI	Karphi <sup>o</sup> Intermediate	Seen on a krater. Influence from Cyprus? C.1050 B.C. (19).
Lip-handled amphora	LCIIIB/CGI	Karphi, sub-Minoan, EPG	Shape and probably decoration. Between 1050-950 B.C. (31, 33).
Sword	CGI	Karphi- Intermediate	Only a fragment of bronze known. It is Snodgrass' type I. C.1050 B.C. (238-9).
Four-handled amphora	CGI	sub-Minoan	Shape? C.1000 B.C. (21)
Vases with excrecent cups	LCIIIB/CGI	sub-Minoan	Shape with cup beside the handle. C.1000 B.C. (145-6).
Hemispherical metal bowl	CGI/II	EPG	Shape. Mainly of bronze. C.925 B.C. (262).
Bird-vases	CGI/II	EPG/LPG/PGB'	Shape. C.925 and afterwards. (189-90 and 195).
Trefoil-lipped oinochoe	CGI/II	EPG	Shape? C.925 B.C. (46).
Double loop- handles	CG	transition to EPG	Second wave of influence? C.925 B.C. (22).
Spearhead	CGI	EPG	Snodgrass' type V, with long narrow blade and prominent midrib. C.925 B.C. (233-4).
	CGI and CA	EPG/MPG	"Sigynna" type. Long thin rods of metal Imports? C.900 B.C. (234-5).
Sword	LCIII?	EPG?	Snodgrass' type IA A with blade evenly tapering from hilt to tip. C.925 B.C. (239).



<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>CRETAN DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Trefoil-lipped oinochoe	CGI/II	EPG and PGB'	Type with ribs. For the moment it seems that there were two waves of influence in 925 and 825 B.C. but this may not be so (49-50).
Motif	CGI	MPG/LPG	Comb. It looks like a fork with prongs. c.900 B.C. (231).
Hydria	CGI/II	MPG/LPG	Shape? Motif of the bracket ornament. 900-875 B.C. (38).
Jewellery	CGII	LPG	Diadems. C.875 B.C. (279-80).
Belly-handled amphora	CGII	LPG	Ridge below rim. C.850 B.C. (23).
Motif	CGIIB/III	PGB'	Triangle with solid apex. C.825 B.C. (231).
Fibula	CGIII	PGB'	Beaded type. In this paper type C(e). C.825 B.C. (256) and p.394 n. 137.
Trefoil-lipped oinochoe	CGIIIB	PGB'/EG	Shape. (Neck topped by a big uncouth lip) C.800 B.C. (45).
Kekythos	CGIII	MG-Orientalizing	Shape and decoration. (Type with neck-ridge.) After 790 B.C. (66-68). Some may be imports
Motif	CGIII/CA	MG/LG	Birds with raised wing. C.775 B.C. (230).
	CGIII/CA	LG	Bee-motif. At the beginning it is a lozenge flanked by two triangles but afterwards the latter were transformed into elaborate designs. C.750 B.C. (230).

<u>TYPES</u>	<u>CYPRLOT DATE</u>	<u>CRETAN DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Handles	CGI-CA	MPG?	Handles set vertically on the vase in relation to the ground on which the vessel stands. Seen on pithoi at Fortetsa. Very doubtful case of connexions indeed. C.875 B.C. (22). They may follow sub-Minoan tradition. See Fortetsa, pl.3 No. 3.
Loop-supports	CG/CA	LG/EO	Seen on Cretan Pithoi. C.750 B.C. (21-2).
Oinochoe	CGIII/CA	LG/EO	Shape and decoration consisting of concentric circles on the sides and Prophylactic eyes on the lips. Imitation also of the sack-shaped oinochoe. C.750 (47-9).
Barrel-jugs	CG/CA	LG/EO	Shape. C.730 B.C. (133).
Vases with Human faces	CG/CAtric?	Geometric?	Shape. C.725 B.C. (179).
Lekythos	CGIII/CA	Orientalizing	Shape with muchroom like lip and variants. C.720 B.C. or a little afterwards. (68-9).
Arrowhead	CGIII	8th century	Snodgrass' type 4; narrow, four-sided tanged heads. Probable imports from Cyprus. C.720 B.C. (245).
Shield	CA	EO	Herzsprung type. C.700 B.C. or a little earlier (243).
Fibula	CA	EO	Beaded type. In this thesis type C(f). C.700 B.C. (256).

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIT DATE</u>	<u>CRETAN DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Metal- attachments	CGII-CA	EO?	Lotus flower. C.700 B.C. or a little earlier. (267).
Pilgrim flask	CGIII/CA	EO	Adaptation of shape. C.700 B.C. (152).
Ring vase	CGIII/CA	EO	Adaptation of shape. C.700 B.C. (160).

CRETE INFLUENCES CYPRUS

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CRETAN DATE</u>	<u>CYPRIOIOT DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Jug	Karphi- Intermediate	LCIIIB	Trefoil-lipped oinochoe with incised decoration. Discovered at Enkomi. Probable import. 1100-1075 B.C. (55-6).
Kylix	sub-Minoan	LCIIIB	Swollen-stem type. 1100-1075 B.C. (104 ff.)
Pyxis	sub-Minoan	LCIIIB	Shape; straight-sided. 1100-1075 (141-3).
Motif	sub-Minoan	LCIIIB	Horned quadruped. 1100-1075 B.C. (229).
Cylindrical stand	LMIII	LCIIIB	Shape. C.1075 B.C. (117).
Vases with excrecent cups	LMIIIB/sub- Minoan	LCIIIB/CGI	Shape. C.1075 B.C. (145).
Human figurines	LMIIIB2c/sub- Minoan	LCIIIB/CGI	With up-raised arms and a polos. C.1075 B.C. (207-8).
Vases with Human faces	LMIIIB2c or Intermediate from Karphi	LCIIIB/CGI	Bottle from Salamis, Cyprus, with a human face modelled on the neck. C.1075 B.C. (177-8).
Shield	LMIIIB2c/sub- Minoan	LCIIIB/CGI	Shield bosses from Kaloriziki and Amathus. The first probably imported. 1075-1000 B.C. (241).
Naiskoi	LMIIIB2c/sub- Minoan	LCIII <sup>B</sup> /CGI	Shape. C.1050 B.C. (210-211).
	PGB'	CGIII	Figures scaling the walls and looking inquisitively inside thenaiskos. C.800 B.C. (212-3).
Plate	PGB'	CGIII	Pierced lug-handles. C.800 B.C. (166-7).
Human figurine	LG/EO	CA?	Legs separated. C.700 B.C. or slightly earlier (20'



CYPRUS INFLUENCES DODECANESE

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRLOT DATE</u>	<u>DODECANESE, DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Bird vase	CGI/II	LPG	Shape. C.925 or a little earlier. Renewed influences in the 9th century. Earliest material from Cos. (GGP, 264). (192).
Pilgrim flask	CGI/II	LPG/sub-PG	Shape and probably decoration. 925 B.C. or a little earlier. LPG material mentioned by Coldstream as coming from Cos. (GGP, 264) (152).
Barrel-jug	CGI/II	EG/MG	Shape and decoration. Possible imports. 900-800 B.C. (132-3).
Lekythos	CGIII	MG	Shape with neck-ridge and its decoration at the beginning. Later it was Hellenized. Some pieces may be imports. C.850 and afterwards. (61,62,63).
Skyphos	CGI/II	LPG	Motif of latticed opposed triangles. Doubtful. C.925 B.C. (74).
Sword	LCIII?	LPG	Snodgrass' type IA with evenly tapering blade from hilt to tip. C.925 B.C. (239).
Belly-handled amphora	CGL/II	transitional to EG	Decoration; rows of cross-hatched lozenges and the Maltese cross. C.900 B.C. or soon afterwards. (23-4).
Bird vase	CGIII	MG	Shape. Trefoil-lipped prochus from Massari-Malona. C.825 B.C. (195).

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>DODECANESE DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Trefoil-lipped oinochoe	CGIII/CA	LG	Shape and decoration accurately imitated. 750-700 B.C. (50-1).
Vases with human faces	CAI	LG	Shape. C.730 B.C. (178).
Horn-shaped vases	CGIII	LG	Shape and partly decoration. C.725 B.C. (17A)
Ring-vase	CGIII/CA	LG	Shape. C.725 B.C. (159-160).
Lekythos	CA	LG	Mushroom-topped. C.720 B.C. (63-4).
Human figurine	CA	LG	Shape. C.700 B.C. (209).
Shield	CA	LG	Herzsprung type. C.700 B.C. (243).
Candelabrum	CGIII/CA	LG	Shape. Imports? C.700 B.C. (260).

DODECANESE INFLUENCES CYPRUS

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>DODECANESE DATE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Skyphos	LG	CA	Shape and decoration consisting of vertical wiggly lines. C.700 B.C. (82-3).

CYPRUS INFLUENCES EUBOEA AND CYCLADES

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>CYCLADES, DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Knife	LCIIIB	LHIIIC	From Lefkandi with bronze rivets. C.1075 B.C. (250-1).
Bird vase	LCIIIB/CG	transitional to PG	From Lefkandi. Shape. 1050-1025 (191-2).
Side-spouted jug	CGI	LCIIIC	From Lefkandi. Shape. C.1025 B.C. (122-3).
Barrel jug	CGII	LPG	From Lefkandi. Imported. C.925 B.C. (131-2).
Pilgrim flask	CGI/II	PG	From Lefkandi. Shape. C.900 B.C. (154).
Centaur	CGII	late PG/transitional to EG	From Lefkandi. C.900 B.C. (197 ff.)
Oinochoe	CGI/II	transitional to EG	Experimental piece from Lefkandi. Shape? Decoration? Swastikas from the same tomb. 900-875 B.C. (46-7).

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRLOT DATE</u>	<u>CYCLADES DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Lip-handled amphora	CGI-III	Geometric	Naxian. Shape. C.800? B.C. (31-2).
Hydria	CGIII/CA	LG	Shape and decoration of wavy lines, circles and perhaps the bracket ornament. C.750 B.C. (40-1).
Motif	CGIIB/III	LG	Small concentric circles. Euboean speciality applied on the lips of skyphoi. C.750 B.C. (84).
Pilgrim flask	CGI-III	LG	Shape. C.750 B.C. (152-3).
Lekythos	CGIII	LG	Theran, Delian, Euboean. Shape with neck-ridge. C.750 B.C. or even earlier. (69-70).
Oinochoe	CGIII/CA	LG	Delian. Imports? With sets of concentric circles on the sides. Also the sack-shaped variety. C.740 B.C. (52).
Belly-handled amphora	CGIII/CA	LG	Handles set vertically on the vase in relation to the ground on which the vessel stands. Also flat projecting lip and low conical foot. C.725 B.C. or a little earlier (22).

EUBOEA AND CYCLADES INFLUENCE CYPRUS

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYCLADES DATE</u>	<u>CYPRLOT DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Skyphos	LPG	CGII/III transitional	Import. Found in a transitional context from CGII to CGIII. C.875 B.C. (2, 86).
	MG	CGIII	Imports. One imitation of type III. Mostly with Pendent semicircles. 850-750 B.C. (77-8; n.365).
	LG	CGIII/CA	Many true imports. 750-700 B.C. (86-88).



CYPRUS INFLUENCES EAST GREECE

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIT DATE</u>	<u>E. GREEK DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Bird vase	LCIII <sup>B</sup> /CGI	PG (early)	From Assarlik. Shape? C.1050 B.C. (192).
Kernos	CGIII	LG	Samos. Shape. C.760 B.C. (158).
Motif	CGIII	LG	Simple perpendicular hands. C.750 B.C. or soon afterwards. (81).
	CGIII	LG	St. Andrews cross flanked by vertical lines. C.725 B.C. (84-5).
Human figurines	CAI	LG	Samos. Shape with cylindrical body. C.710 B.C. (209).
Blinker	CAI	LG	Miletus, Samos. Imports? C.710 B.C. (249). Pieces are also reported from Eretria and Lindos.
Shield	CAI	LG	Samos. Herzsprung type. C.710 B.C. (243).
Vases with human faces	CAI	LG	Samos. Shape. C.700 B.C. (178-9).
Candelabrum	CAI	LG	Samos. Imports? C.700 B.C. (260).

EAST GREECE INFLUENCES CYPRUS

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>E. GREEK DATE</u>	<u>CYPRIT DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Motif	LG	CA	Groups of vertical bands without any decoration between them. They are applied on a skyphos the shape of which is probably a loan from the same place. C.725 B.C. (80-81).

CYPRUS INFLUENCES THE ARGOLID

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>ARGIVE DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Sword	LCIIII?	LPG	Snodgrass' type IA with evenly tapering blade. Secondary influence? C.925 B.C. (239).
Loop-supports	CGIIII/CA	LG	On amphorai. C.750 B.C. (22).
Barrel-jug	CGIIII/CA	LG	Shape. C.750 B.C. (133-4) One with three necks is probably earlier.
Lekythos	CGIIII/CA	LG	Mushroom-topped but Hellenized. C.730 B.C. (69).

ARGOLID INFLUENCES CYPRUS

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>ARGIVE DATE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Kyliz	LHIIIC14	LCIIIB	With ribbed stem. C.1100 B.C. (104).
Firedogs	LG	CA	Imports? C.720 B.C. (257-8).

CYPRUS INFLUENCES CORINTH

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CYPRIOT DATE</u>	<u>CORINTHIAN DATE</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Motif	CA	EPG	Swollen projections facing the joined apices of an hour-glass. C.720 B.C. (83-4).
Centaur	CGIIII/CA	LG?	Shape. Note eyes, legs and the incisions of the beard. C.720 B.C. (204).

IV. FINAL ABSOLUTE DATES ON THE LINES  
OF WHICH THIS THESIS WAS WRITTEN

From the very first chapter, we have tried to reach accurate dates on the chronological division of the Cypro-Geometric period, so it would be desirable to see if the discussion of the various individual chapters supports these dates. At the same time, a table showing the chronological divisions of the Geometric period of the most important Aegean districts will be a necessity because despite the fact that we have tried to follow Coldstream's scheme throughout this work, certain slight divergencies exist. We must not also forget that Coldstream covers the Geometric not the Protogeometric, LHIIIC11, sub-Mycenaean or sub-Minoan period. On these last divisions our yardstick was Desborough's work and also the newly published book of Dr. Snodgrass on the Dark Age. At all events, we first start with the Cypriot material.

The initial date of the Cypriot Iron Age was regarded throughout this work the year 1050 B.C. When, however, discussing the "Bottle" we have seen that it indicates a date slightly earlier than 1050 B.C. Corroborative evidence for this fact comes when we compare two belly-handled amphorai, one from Lapithos of CGI (SCEIV:2, Fig. V:14) and one from Kaloriziki tomb No. 40 (McFadden, AJA 58/1954), pl. 23, Fig. 18 No. 5), allegedly of LCIIIB date. On the shoulder of both we have a row of latticed triangles and a row of latticed lozenges. On the one vase the triangles support the lozenges while on the other one is the other way round. The rest of the decoration on both vases consists of bands, wavy lines

on the belly and reserved bands on the neck which cannot add anything special on matters of chronology. The first combination of the motifs, however, speaks in favour of near contemporaneity of the two vases and as the Kaloriziki tomb is dated in LCIIIB, probably C.1075 B.C. then the beginning of CGI must be pushed a little upwards. What we can definitely say is that CGI has already been established C.1050 B.C. This is why we kept the last date as the starting point of CGI in this work.

For the beginning of CGII we are lucky enough to have a Cypriot export of CGIIA at Lefkandi associated with Attic late Protogeometric material (pp. 131-2). If we allow a generation to elapse for its manufacture, export and entombment, then we can say with a certain degree of confidence that CGII starts C.950 B.C.

The year 875 which we regard as the starting point for CGIII is also supported on additional evidence from Dodecanese (pp. 61-2), while for CAI being circumscribed by the limits of 740 and 675 B.C. we have much corroborative evidence (pp. 78-9 and 82-3).

From the other Aegean districts our main concern was about the beginning of the Cretan Early Protogeometric and Early Orientalizing period. For the latter we have a discussion in the text (pp. 48-9) but for the former we have tried to follow Snodgrass who ascribed its beginning to C.925 B.C. (Dark Age, 134-5). In any case, the same period commenced C.970 for the late J.K. Brock and this date is now confirmed by Coldstream though on different grounds (Knossos 1951-61: Protogeometric and Geometric Pottery



from the town in BSA, 67 (1972), p. 65). This change does not actually affect the results of this paper apart from a few instances of connexions, when we had better regard them as starting a quarter of a century earlier. We must stress, however, that the beginning of this period applies only for the area around Knossos while in the rest of the island, especially the Eastern part, the sub-Minoan period lingered for a very long time afterwards, probably till the end of the 9th century B.C.

The following table on the next page shows the absolute dates of the most important Aegean districts and Cyprus.

After the final absolute dates we reached for Cyprus, a comparison with Mrs. Birmingham's results is desirable. Her system is based on examination of the Cypriot contact with the Levant while ours is based on equations with the Aegean.

Mrs. Birmingham has divided the Iron Age period of Cyprus into three periods - AJA, 67 (1963) 39,40 - (a) Early Iron 1050-900 (b) Middle Iron 900-725 and (c) Middle Iron 2, 725-600. To the LCIIIB period she ascribes the time from a little before 1100 to 1050 B.C. Most of the SCE pottery types I-II are attributed by her to Early Iron (1050-900), much of type III is dated between 900-800 with some forms being even earlier, while 800-700 is supposed to be the period for type IV and 700-600 for type V.

Mrs. Birmingham's fundamental difference with Gjerstad, apart from the chronology, is her proposed re-arrangement of the sequence of shapes. At all events, in this paper we have tried to keep

	CYPRUS	ATTICA	CRETE	ARGOLID	CYCLADES	DODEC- ANESE	EAST GREECE
1125							
1100	LCIIIB	Sub-My- cenaeon	-----	Some sub-My- cenaeon?			Some sub-My- cenaeon?
1075							
1060			Sub- Minoan				
1050	↑						
1025							
1000	CGI			PG		?	
975		PG			PG		PG
950			EPG				
925							
900	CGII					PG	
875		EGI	MPG	EGI	sub-PG and EG	sub-PG and EG	sub-PG and EG
850		EGII		EGII			
825		MGI	LPG				
800	CGIII		PGB	MGI	MG	MG	MG
775		MGII	EG	MGII			
760		LG Ia	MG				
750		LG Ib	LG	LGI			
740		LGIIa			LG		
725		LGIIb	EO	LGII		LG	LG
700	CAI						
675		EPA		Sub-G	Sub-G		
	CAII						

ourselves within the limits of the sequence of the several pottery forms of the well defined system of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. In the case of the only two discrepancies we have, namely the emergence of the small concentric circles and the "Grey and Black Polished Ware" which were supposed to appear for the first time in CGIII, it is clearly stated in the individual chapters that they appeared in CGII (pp. 74, 84, and 3 respectively). Where we propose new dates, we include all the shapes of one type en masse without any effort to re-arrange any of the individual types. Hereunder is a comparison of all three systems including that of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

<u>Birmingham's System</u>		<u>Ours</u>		<u>S C E</u>	
Types I-II	1050-900	Types I-II	1050-875	Types I-II	1050-850
Type III	900-800	Type III	875-740	Type III	850-700
Type IV	800-700	Type IV	740-675	Type IV	700-600
Type V	700-600	Type V	675- ?	Type V	600-475

What is clear from the above table is that the chronology of the SCE is low, and that both Birmingham's system and ours indicate a rising of it. Our equations, however, do not permit Birmingham's high dating although we are quite close as regards the beginning of Type V. In my opinion as far as the Aegean material is concerned, the most easily reconcilable dates for the Cypro-Geometric period are those reached in this thesis

V. HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS

After the lengthy discussion of the individual pottery forms and metal artefacts and the connexions of the Aegean and Cyprus based on them, it remains to us to try and draw the historical outline of the period. From the very beginning we have to make it clear that such an attempt, based solely on material evidence and not written records, is a very difficult task. Nevertheless this attempt is desirable because it is the only possibility we have to reach the truth about the history of Cyprus and its connexion with the Aegean World in the Early Iron Age.

It is generally agreed that Cyprus was a refuge for the Myceneans who fled there in two big waves, at the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 11th. A continuous flight in small numbers between those two big occasions is quite probable. Here, we are only concerned with the second wave. Is it substantiated by material evidence? Is it possible to determine when exactly the big main landfall of people took place?

In the years following 1100 B.C. and very probably c.1075, we have indications of connexions between Attica and Cyprus. The former offers to the latter the lekythos with narrow neck, the arched type fibula and possibly the chamber tomb with long dromos, the last being transferred to Cyprus probably from Perati, while in mid-11th century and a little later, but not beyond 1025 B.C., there follow the globular pyxis with lug-handles, and the concentric circles decorating the belly-handled amphorai.



Cyprus in return offers among other things the knife with bronze rivets (Perati), the pilgrim flask, two varieties of pins one with rolled top and one with ivory head, the shape of the bottle, the rectangular pyxis, the iron sword, the ring vase, the bird vase and probably the high conical foot for many vases, the multiple brush and the incentive for the formation of the belly-handled amphora with high neck and everted lip.

None of the above mentioned connexions need be later than 1025 B.C. or markedly earlier than 1075 B.C. Then, very strangely indeed, the next sign of relation of the two districts we have, dates from after 950 B.C.

In the second half of the 10th century Cyprus influences Attica with the side-spouted jug, the loop-supports of an amphora, the skyphos with plastic ring on the foot, the clay stand, the re-introduced pilgrim flask, the flat-based cup, the undecorated hemispherical bowl of metal, the sword with evenly tapering blade, the spearhead with shoulders terminating abruptly, and with certain items of jewellery made of precious material like the spiral rings. Attica offers a little in return, like the open work kalathos and the movable legs of the human figurines.

In the 9th century the connexions of the two districts are rather poor. Cyprus offers the kylix with ribbed stem, the ridge below the rim on the belly-handled amphora and probably the inspiration for the lip-handled amphora, the last one around 800 B.C. Attica possibly offers a type of spear and the shield-bosses, re-introduced? to Cyprus.

The 8th century, in addition to many actual imports, shows many instances of influence. Cyprus gave the idea for the re-introduction of the hydria, the shape of the bird vase and bird prochus, the barrel-jug, the olpe, the Phaleron cup and certain motifs like the concentric circles on the oinochoai, the ritual of dancing etc. Attica offers the shape of the skyphos, many decorative motifs, the metal cauldron, the double loop-handles on shallow bowls, the high-footed krater, the Boeotian type fibula and probably the custom of cremation.

From what we have said it is clear that there was intense communication between 1075-1025; then we have a complete disruption for at least 75 years. The communications were vigorously resumed in the second half of the 10th century, Attica being by far the greater borrower. The 9th century shows but only scanty contact while the 8th is again a lively period of communications.

Crete is the second important Aegean district whose connexions with Cyprus start from about 2,000 B.C. In any case, from C.1100 B.C. we have indications of contact, Cyprus influencing Crete in the shape of a clay altar from Karphi and the side-spouted jug with the projection opposite the handle. Slightly later we find the pilgrim flask, the bird vase and bird prochus, the pin with ivory head, the knife with bronze rivets, a certain type of kalathos, the bottle and probably after 1050 B.C. we have the lip-handled amphoriskos while from C.1000 B.C. we have the four-handled amphora and the vase with the excrescent cup beside the handle. In return,

Crete in the early 11th century offers the jug with incised decoration, the kylix with swollen stem, the straight-sided pyxis, the vase with excrescent cup, the human figurine with up-raised arms, the shield-bosses, the Naiskos, the motif of the horned quadruped and it probably contributed in the formation of the vases with human faces.

In the 10th century the connexions are scanty and there seems a lacuna in the first fifty years, which may possibly not exist since we were probably incorrect to date the beginning of EPG C.925 B.C. while now Coldstream places its beginning C. 970 (p. 2) with a probability of being even a little earlier. At all events, in this century Cyprus offers the hemispherical bowl of metal, the bird vase, the double loop-handle, a spearhead with long, narrow blade and prominent midrib, the sword with evenly tapering blade, the oinochoe with ribs on its body and the motif of the comb. Crete seems totally passive without any sign of reverse influence and the same seems true for the 9th century also, when Cyprus is again active offering the bracket ornament, the triangle with solid apex, gold diadems, the ridge below the rim on amphorai, a kind of oinochoe with big uncouth lip and a type of fibula with beads.

The 8th century, especially its second part, offers a flood of Cypriot imports and imitations. At the beginning we have the neck-ridged lekythos and certain motifs like the bird with raised wing and the bee-motif, then the oinochoe with big lateral concentric circles, the baseless lekythos with globular body, the barrel-jug,

a vase with human face, the Herzsprung shield, a certain type of a narrow, four-sided, tanged arrowhead, the all-beaded fibula and the lotus flower attachment. To this cascade of Cypriot influence Crete offers C.800 B.C. a type of Naiskos with scaling figures on its walls, the pierced lug-handles applied on plates and C.700 B.C. a kind of naked human figurine with modelled body and legs.

From the above description it is clear that in the first half of the 11th century there is intense connexion, the influence being mutual and well attested, probably suggesting movement of people. In the second half of the same century we have a sudden stoppage on the influence of Crete on Cyprus, a stoppage which continues till the very end of the Geometric period, with only two exceptions C.800 and another one C.700 B.C. What was the reason for Crete's passive role, I cannot suggest. The first half of the 10th century gives good evidence of the Cypriot influence on Crete and the same holds good for the 9th. The contact increases gradually and in the 8th century it is really overwhelming, especially after 775 B.C.

Moving to the Dodecanese, the picture we have is one of one-way influence because the only loan of Dodecanese to Cyprus is the skyphos with perpendicular wiggly lines of C.700 B.C. The Cypriot influence was felt in Dodecanese after 950 B.C. with the bird vase, the pilgrim flask and the sword with evenly tapering blade. In the 9th century we have the barrel-jug, the neck-ridged lekythos and the bird prochos. The first half of the 8th does not show any influence but I do not think that this means there was no contact



as we have clear indication of Cypriot penetration in Aegean waters from other districts. In the second half of the 8th century we have the oinochoe with lateral concentric circles, vases with human faces, horn-shaped vases, candelabra, human figurines, the mushroom-topped lekythos and the Herzsprung shield.

Euboea and the Cyclades is another Aegean entity showing contact with Cyprus in the early 11th century. At Lefkandi, we feel the Cypriot influence in the knife with bronze rivets C.1075 and the bird vase along with the side-spouted jug which date rather earlier than 1025 B.C. After this date and until C.925 B.C. we cannot detect any contact between the two regions. Approximately at the last mentioned date we have a Cypriot import at lefkandi and a reciprocal movement a few years later took to Cyprus from the Cyclades a cup and a skyphos, both high-footed. The trend towards Cyprus continued in the second half of the 9th century and the first half of the 8th with the exports of the skyphoi with pendant semicircles. In the second half of the 8th century we have exports to Cyprus consisting of kraters, skyphoi and oinochoai. Coming back to the Cypriot influence, we see that C.900 B.C. and in the 9th century it offers to Euboea and Cyclades the pilgrim flask, the centaur and the motif of the swastikas. The second half of this same century seems uninfluenced but this is probably not so. Around 800 B.C. and afterwards we see the Cypriot influence in the introduction of the lip-handled amphora, the hydria, the lekythos with neck-ridge, the oinochoe with big lateral concentric circles and the motif of the small sets of

concentric circles.

As with Attica, so with Euboea there are signs of connexion between 1075-1025, then it seems that there was a disruption until C.950 B.C. when communications were resumed probably on Cypriot initiative as the Cypriot import at Lefkandi tells us, whose date cannot be lowered below 925 B.C.

East Greece shows contact with Cyprus only after the first quarter of the 8th century mainly through the island of Samos. The only case of earlier connexion is a bird vase from Assarlik of C.1050 B.C.

The Argolid is another Aegean region which shows Cypriot influence C.925 B.C. because of a sword with tapering blade although, I think, it could well be a secondary influence through Attica. The next sign of more immediate influence we have is the loop-supports of big vases, the barrel-jug and the mushroom-topped lekythos, all three instances dating in the second half of the 8th century. A reciprocal movement took to Cyprus C.720 B.C. the iron firedogs. At a much earlier date, perhaps C.1100 B.C., Argolid was responsible for the introduction to Cyprus of the kylix with ribbed stem.

The last Aegean district which may show straight contact with Cyprus in the last quarter of the 8th century is Corinthia, where we have the motif of the swollen projections facing the joined apices of an hour-glass and possibly the particular type of a bearded centaur.

These are the Aegean districts which show connexions with Cyprus. Attica is the most explicit but this is largely due to the many excavations that took place there and revealed ample Iron Age material which was published. By comparison other districts received far less attention with far fewer vases published. At any rate, the picture we have here is one of intense connexions between 1100 and 1025 B.C. At this stage we have a sudden collapse of the communications, at least between the western Aegean and Cyprus, but this picture does not probably hold good for Crete where evidence of contact, although poor, is still present. These broken communications of the western Aegean and Cyprus were resumed c. 950 B.C. At this stage we have the emergence of new regions where contact with Cyprus is manifested like Dodecanese, the Cyclades proper, and much later the Argolid, East Greece and Corinthia. Until now, we have no sign of contact between Cyprus and the coast of northern Aegean.

As we have seen the years around 1075 B.C. mark the peak of the early connexions between the Aegean and Cyprus. In the latter we do not only have influence but signs of actual migration like the tomb-types, the burial rites, the fibulae and religious ideas. This means that the previously mentioned second wave of migration took place in the first quarter of the 11th century. These migrants kept visiting the land of their ancestors till perhaps the end of the second generation which grew up in their new homeland, namely Cyprus. For an unknown reason, however, this

westward enterprise had an end C.1025 B.C. with only occasional landings at Crete in the ensuing 75 years. Then, after 950 we see an awakening of the Aegean area and the communications with Cyprus being resumed in a vigorous way. The resumed connexions continued till the end of the Geometric period increasing steadily on the way to its end.

A question which may arise now is what sort of commodities were trading and why. As far as the imports are concerned the barrel-jug at Lefkandi of the second half of the 10th century is an isolated find but in the end of the 9th century beginning of the 8th, imports and imitations of the neck-ridged lekythos especially at Dodecanese and Crete was, according to Coldstream, answering a pressing need for slow pouring vessels; they probably held cosmetics. As regards however the influence on various pottery shapes it is seen on so many vases, closed or open, that I do not think it can lead to particularly useful conclusions. The early 8th century Attic or Cycladic skyphoi, especially the latter were rather exported for their own sake than for anything they might contain.

The objects which deserve a closer attention are the iron ones because their presence opened up a new era. Very possibly the earliest ones are the knives with bronze rivets, a primarily utilitarian object, and then followed the weapons. This may mean more than trade and we shall return to it shortly.

The puzzling thing to which I like to revert for a little while is the communication of Crete and Cyprus in the end of the



11th beginning of the 10th century. What was the reason for this attraction, however insignificant, in terms of numbers this contact was? Was it that the greatest part of those migrating to Cyprus in the early 11th century were coming from Crete? Certainly a portion was from there but how big it was, we cannot be sure. Probably a good many Cretans made their way to Cyprus if we are to judge from the signs of contact c.1075 B.C. and the very long time it took for those left behind to recover and show a certain degree of progress and up to a point, prosperity.

A second reason for not visiting the western Aegean could be a troubled mainland. Might it not be true that if the Dorians had already been established on the coast of the mainland by 1025 B.C. the fear of trouble made the merchants land only in Crete? This of course presupposes that Crete was not yet inhabited by Dorian tribes. The above explanation has its weak point of course, namely the stoppage of contact with Attica, the region which admittedly shows a smooth transition from the late Bronze to the Iron Age, without any marked change in the material evidence which might suggest intruders or any form of strife and turbulent times.

This is all we can say about the connexions based on material evidence, but what about those migration legends recorded by various ancient writers? Are they of any use to us or are we going to confuse the problem of connexions if we put them forward?

Several of them are foundation legends referring probably to the time of the first massive Aegean migration. As this event is put a little after the Trojan war and as these legends reflect this first movement of C.1220 B.C. they are of minor concern to us here. At all events, there are some more legends and two of them will be discussed briefly as they may have a basis of truth relevant to us.

The legend of the Telchines (K. Hadjiannou, *Archaia Kypros* istas *Ellinicas Pigas*, pp. 6-7, fragments 6, 6.1, 6.2) requires them to be living in Crete and then migrating to Cyprus from where they left for Rhodes and Boeotia, but not before they learned how to work a newly developed material. Now, if we take account of the fact that there was an Aegean migration towards Cyprus in the first quarter of the 11th century with Cretans as active members and that the first iron objects, namely the knives with bronze rivets appeared in the Aegean C.1075 B.C. is it not possible that the legend of the Telchines has historical background, and that some Cretans, after a short stay in Cyprus, longed for their old home this time taking with them the knowledge of the iron working? If this is so, then the first iron objects in the Aegean may partly be products of trade and partly a minor migration but this time from Cyprus to Greece.

A second legend which is of some interest is the one referring to Dryopes and their expulsion from their homeland by the Herakleids. Some of them settled at Euboea and at Kythnos, while some more

travelled far away to Cyprus (E. Gjerstad, The Colonization of Cyprus in Greek Legend, in Op. Arch. III, 1944, pp. 110 and 122). It would however be more natural to see the latter group staying also temporarily in Euboea or some other island and then heading to Cyprus. As this event is connected with the Dorian "invasion" it could well happen slightly after 1100 B.C. If we accept a date towards the end of the 12th century for a strong presence of Dorians in south Greece - this is of course, the traditional time of the Dorian "invasion" - which could force some of its older inhabitants to leave their homeland, this flight should take place in the first quarter of the 11th century. Our previous discussion shows clear signs of connexion between Cyprus and Lefkandi C.1075 so the material evidence can support a migration to Cyprus at this time. As tradition requires the Dryopes as the group behind this enterprise we may say that the archaeological evidence favours what tradition claims.

We had the opportunity to refer to the many Homeric customs (p.220) encountered at Palaepaphos but especially at the Nekropolis of Salamis and we have reached the conclusion that due to close contact with the Aegean and the spreading of the Homeric poems we have a revival of Greek conscience in Cyprus. It is with satisfaction that we here record the same view held by Coldstream even earlier (Praktika protou Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou, Nicosia 1972, pp. 21-2).

Summing up we can say that there seems a movement of people from the Aegean towards Cyprus between 1100-1075 with perhaps a minor reciprocal movement immediately afterwards (Desborough, LMS, pp. 28 and 194) although the latter could well be a trading enterprise which, anyhow, opened up a new chapter in Greek history, the chapter of the Iron Age.

Crete is perhaps the only Aegean land which maintained contact with Cyprus throughout the Dark Age but her role was almost passive apart from the early 11th century when we probably have actual migration. Attica and the western Aegean show an interruption of their connexions with Cyprus between 1025 and 950. After this interval the whole southern Aegean starts to foster contacts with Cyprus, the connexions increasing considerably as we approach the second part of the 8th century when both regions, the Aegean and Cyprus are active participants in a peaceful mercantile enterprise.



VI. NEW FINDS OF WEAPONS IN CYPRUS SINCE DR A.M. SNODGRASS  
HAS PUBLISHED E.C.A.

TYPE OF WEAPON	FINDSPOT	PUBLISHER	PERIODICAL OR BOOK PUBLISHED IN
Spearhead Type?	Salamis	V.Karageorghis	NSI, tomb 3, p.39:123. Described by Dr Karageorghis as leaf-shaped, with low mid-rib grooved on both sides and having a slit along one side with two perforations at the edges. Length 59.5; also p.43, pls 43,129. Transitional CAI to CAII.
Arrowhead (Type 4A? (1409) (Type ? (133))	Salamis	V. Karageorghis	NSI, tomb 3, p.39:110; p.40:173. Found in bundles. Transitional CAI-II; pls 43,129.
Sword (Type I)	Palae-paphos (Kouklia)	V.Karageorghis	BCH, 90(1966), p.323, fig.59. CAI. Also in BCH, 91(1967), p.236, fig. 21:46; p.239, fig. 24; p.240, fig.25.
Sword (Type III)	Salamis	V. Karageorghis	BCH, 89(1965), p.286, fig.83; transitional CAI-II. <del>Europa</del> Europa, 1967, Homeric from Salamis (Cyprus) pl.XV. Anatolica I(1967), pl.VII fig.4. AA, 1966, Recent discoveries at Salamis (Cyprus) p.239 fig.45. NSI, tomb 3, p.38:95; p.43, pls 45,129. Cyprus, pl.132. It is 92 cm. long; surmounted with a pommel.
Helmet (conical; oriental)	Palae-paphos	V.Karageorghis	BCH, 90(1966), p.320, fig.55. BCH, 91(1967), p.234, fig.20:45; p.239, fig.24.
		K. Nicolaou	AR, 1965-6, p.34, fig.11. It is CAI.
Shield (Herz-sprung)	Palae-paphos	V.Karageorghis	Une tombe de Guerrier A Palae-paphos in BCH; 87(1963) pp.273-4. It is CAI.

TYPE OF WEAPON	FINDSPOT	PUBLISHER	PERIODICAL OR BOOK PUBLISHED IN
Shield (Animal protome)	Salamis	V.Karageorghis	NSII, tomb 13, p.29:41, pls B:5; 74:41, 211. A part is missing. It is CAII.
Shield (Animal protome)	Salamis	V.Karageorghis	NSII, tomb 10, p.18:18a p.23, pl.67. Only the central fragment survives. CAII.
Shield (Circular made of bronze)	Salamis	V.Karageorghis	NSI, p.36:25, pls. XLIV, CXXIX. BCH 89(1965) pp.285-6 Figs 81-82.

F O O T - N O T E S

1. SCE IV:2, Relative chronology, 186 ff. Absolute chronology 421 ff. This is the work of Prof. E. Gjerstad.
2. The Chronology of some early and middle Iron Age Cypriot sites in AJA, 67 (1963), 15 ff.
3. For their chronological classification see SCE IV:2, IX-X-XI.
4. It is divided into CAIA= 700 - 650, CAIB= 650 - 600 B.C.
5. The Initial date of the Cypriote Iron Age, in Op. Arch. Vol. III, 73 ff.
6. Ibid, 73
7. Birmingham J., AJA, 67 (1963), 39. Taylor du Plat J., Late Cypriot III: In the light of recent excavations, in REQ, 1956, 37 where she indicates 1050 B.C. Dikaios P., Enkomi I, 438. Karageorghis V., Cyprus, 233. Benson J., Bronze tripods from Kourion, in GRBS 3, (1960), 9.
8. Desborough V., A group of vases from Amathus, in JHS, 77(part II), 1957, 214.
9. PGP, 294
10. Desborough V., A group of vases ..., 212.
11. RDAC, 1965, 57, 69
12. Ibid, no. 108, p.55 and no. 120, p.56
13. Nikolacu K., RDAC, 1965, 69
14. Karageorghis V., Une tombe de guerrier à Palaepaphos, in BCH, 87, (1963), 265 ff.
15. Ibid, 267, Fig. 2. By the excavator<sup>e</sup> is called Ionian. For

- Coldstream it is Parian. GGP, I57, n.5.
16. GGP, I56 - I57. PGP, I93. I disregard Hanfmann's dating for the skyphoi with pendant semicircles. For discussion see Coldstream, GGP, 320-I.
17. GGP, I9I, pl. 4Ia. Karageorghis - Kahil in Ant. K. IO, (I967), I33 ff. pl. 37:5
18. AA 78, (I963), I26 ff
19. Ibid, 203 - 204
20. Ibid, 204 - 205
21. Ibid, I69
22. Ibid, I70
23. SCE II, 55 - 64, nos. I9, 76, I22. pl. XV, fifth row. pl. CXXXIX:7, IO.
24. GGP, 320
25. Hesp. II, Suppl., 2, I24, I4I. Even Young knew the disagreement of the experts on the dating value of these scarabs (p.2) but he ignored it entirely.
26. Here, I do not refer to the dating value of scarabs of the I3th century and earlier.
27. GGP, pl. 38b
28. Ibid, pl. 38c
29. Ibid, pl. 4Ia
30. Ibid, pl. 63c
31. Ibid, pl. I9j
32. SCE II, 79 ff, pl. XIX, pl. CXL
33. GGP, 3I9. cf. Ker. VI, taf. 20, Inv. 4374



34. Dunbabin, Perachora II, IO.
35. Hopper R.J., Addenda to Necrocorinthia, in BSA, 44 (1949), I86.
36. Payne H., Necrocorinthia, 8 - 9
37. GGP, 330
38. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery, 44 - 45, gives the following  
dates. EPC 725 - 700, MPC 700 - 650
39. Les Vases Sicyoniens, I85
40. GGP, IO6
41. Johansen, op. cit., pls. V, XIV
42. RDAC, I970, 90
43. Ker. VI:2, 3 and IO3 ff. At any rate, we have to bear in  
mind that this chronology is quite high.
44. Ker. VI:I, Beil. 45, tomb IX ( @ )
45. Gjerstad called the Amathusian aryballos LPC, in other words  
the aryballos was regarded as piriform or pointed. A simple  
glance, however, at Johansen's classification which is the yard-  
stick for the recognition of the aryballos' shapes and which we  
quoted in our discussion, is surely enough to disprove Gjerstad's  
assumption. The equation also with the material from Perachora  
does not help much. Actually none of the specimens from there  
match the aryballos from Amathus except perhaps no. 29 which, in  
any case, has its body turning inwards quite abruptly after the  
shoulder's curve. The other aryballoi with nicely rounded shou-  
lders, long necks, more elongated or pointed bodies and angular  
handles are certainly later than our specimen.
46. J. Deshayes, Ktima, 62, 77, 2I4, 240, 24I, pls. XIX: 6, LXVII:I

47. Ibid, 59
48. Ibid 60
49. Ibid, 214. It is 9 cm. high, covered with brownish luster and lacking any sort of decoration. The handles do not protrude over the lip. Detailed description *ibid*, 77
50. Schefold K., Die Grabungen in Eretria im Herbst 1964 - 1965 in *Ant. K.* 9, (1966), 120 ff.
51. Karageorghis V., Kahil L., in *Ant. K.* 10 (1967), 133 ff.
52. GGP, 191, pl. 41a
53. Ibid, 135
54. Brock J., p. XVI
55. The Mycenaean III C Pottery and its Relation to Cypriot Fabrics, in *Op. Arch.* III (1944), 262.
56. Hutchinson R., Prehistoric Crete, Pelikan Books, (1968), 324
57. Dark Age, 134 - 5
58. LMS, 258
59. PGP, 6 - 7
60. CVA, Cyprus I, pl. 24:4. One from the IIth cent. tomb from Palaepaphos, published by Dr. Karageorghis is only an amphoriskos 15 cm. high. See RDAC, 1967, fig. 7:38.
61. Ktima, 178.
62. BCH, 87 (1963), 351, Fig. 40:a
63. Styrenius, SS, Fig. 62
64. Seiradaki M., BSA, 55 (1960), pl. 50
65. Boardman, BSA, 55 (1960), pl. 55
66. Wace A. Mycenae, 1939 - 1954, in BSA, 50 (1955), pl. 28:b.

Ergon, (1963), 26, Fig. 3I from Perati.

67. GGP, I7

68. For its origin see Oscar Broneer in Hesp. 8 (1939), 394, fig.

75.

69. Myrtou - Pigadhes, 72, form 550

70. Halbherr F., Cretan Expedition, in AJA 5, (1901) pl. IX:15

71. Pieridou A., in RDAC, 1965, 83, pl. XIV

72. Daniel J., AJA, 41 (1937), pl. III:81

73. PGP, I9

74. Ann. 35 - 36 (1957-8), 356, fig. 214:b

75. PGP, 20

76. Hood - Coldstream, A Late Minoan Tomb at Ayios Ioannis near Knossos, in BSA, 63 (1968), 211 with references, pl. 53.

77. PGP, 20

78. Ibid, 36

79. Asine, 397, fig. 260:8

80. Perati II, 262 - 3, fig. II4 no. 590. Ergon, 27, fig. 27. Delt.

Chr. I9 (1964), 95, pl. 87:a

81. Ker. I, pl. 54. Styrenius SS, Fig. 29, 30

82. SCE I, tomb 417:60, pl. L, sixth row, middle one.

83. BCH, 85 (1961), 283, fig. 36. BCH, 87 (1963), 351, fig. 40a-b

84. CVA Cyprus Museum (I) II C, pl. 37:1,2. The same motif is also present on the much discussed three-handled jar from tomb 26 at Kaloriziki supposed to be Rhodo-Mycenaean of c.1100 B.C. Mrs Pieridou tends now to accept it as Cypriot because of the clay. Verbal discussion with her. AJA, 41 (1937), 62, figs. 5,6:

pl. III:43

85. Ker. IV, pl. 9. PGP, pl. 4. A detailed study on the subject was published by Hans-Günter Buchholz in JdI 83 (1968) 58 ff.
86. Desborough, PGP, 27. Kübler, Ker. IV, no. 11, Payne, BSA, 29 (1927-8), 239
87. Daniel J, AJA, 41 (1937) pl. V:10. Pieridou, RDAC, 1972, pl. 42:I7,I7a
88. Payne H., Early Greek vases from Knossos, in BSA, 29 (1927-8), 239, n. I
89. Hans - Günter Buchholz, in JdI, 83 (1968), 67, Abb. 4:b,f
90. Ibid, Abb. 4:e
91. Ker. I, pl. 55. The same handle is found on some more amphorai from Ker. like Ker. IV, Inv. 2027, pl. 10
92. LMS, 258
93. SCE IV:2, Fig. II:I3
94. Oakeshott N., Horned-head vase handles, in JHS, 86 (1966), 114 ff.
95. PGP, pl. 12: Munich 6157
96. Seiradaki, Pottery from Karfi, in BSA, 55 (1960), pl. 9e
97. Oakeshott N., op. cit., 120
98. Yon, Salamine II, 32:64, pl. 22
99. Ibid, 33
100. PGP, 36
101. GGP, pl. 6
102. Brock J., Fortetsa, p. 14, pl. 7
103. For probable comparisons see, ibid, p. 146
104. Daniel J, AJA, 41 (1937) pl. VI



- I05. *ibid*, pl. IV
- I06. BSA, 53-54 (1958-9), 247, pl. 56c, e.
- I07. MA I4 (1904), col. 643, 644, fig. II0. Bollettino d' Arte  
40 (1955), 155, fig. 28
- I08. E. Vermeule, AJA, 64 (1960), 4-7, pls. I - II
- I09. Daniel, AJA, 41 (1937), pl. III, 7; VI, 89. Probably Yon,  
Salamine II, pl. 20:6I although the broad neck is dissimilar to  
those from Daniel's tomb.
- II0. Payne H., BSA, 29 (1927-8), 239. Brock J., Fortetsa, I47 ff.,  
GGP, 247, pl. 54a
- III. SCE IV:2, Fig. II:I8a, I8b. Fig. XIII:5 (Jar). Fig. XVIII:2  
(Jar). Fig. XXII:3 (Jar). Fig. XXXII:I2, I3a, I3b, I4. For a  
catalogue of such vases see Buchholz, JdI, 83 (1968), 84 ff.
- II2. GGP, pl. 26
- II3. *Ibid*, pl. 28:d
- II4. Buchholz, *op. cit.*, 67, Abb. 4:c, d
- II5. Brock J., Fortetsa, I47 (necked pithoi, C.)
- II6. *Ibid*, pl. I4
- II7. SCE I, Lapithos tomb 406:95, 96, top row, pl. XLV
- II8. GGP, pl. 37:d
- II9. *Ibid*, pl. 40:d, e
- I20. SCE IV:2, Fig. XX:I (Ia)
- I21. SCE IV:2, 55, Fig. XX:5
- I22. Coldstream, GGP, pls. 34:m, 6, 45:c respectively. He believes  
that in Athens this ridge made its appearance in EG II (p.I4).  
Brock J, Fortetsa, pl. IO:I40. Desborough V., PGP, pl. 36:XI, 1

I23. Karageorghis V., in BCH, 92 (1968), 280, Fig. 4I

I24. PGP, pl. 30:Kamiro's tomb XLIII

I25. GGP, pl. 58a

I26. Brock J., Fortetsa, pls. I4:207 and I6:222 respectively.

I27. Ker. I, pl. 5I, top left sherd and pl. 49, tomb 25, inv, 606.

See also PGP, pl. I2, krater sherds. See also here pl.22b on  
the interior of a high-footed tray of early PG.

I28. SCE IV:2, Fig. I:9. Fig. III:I2,I3

I29. Daniel J., AJA 4I (1937), 77, no. 32 for references.

I30. SCE I, pl. CXXVIII from Lapithos tomb 4I7:60. SCE IV:2, Fig. II:  
3,5.

I3I. Ker. I, pl. 2I

I32. Daniel J., AJA, 4I (1937), pl. VI:89

I33. PGP, 37, 38

I34. AM, 78 (1963), I5I-2, Beil. 54:2

I35. MP, 36, Fig. 8:62

I36. PGP, 40, pl. 2I:a

I37. Ibid, pl. I6:I50

I38. GGP, I54, pl. 32:f

I39. PGP, I57, pl. I9:A I452,3,4,5.

I40. Samos V, 92:I8, taf. 2:I8

I4I. SCE IV:2, Fig. V:I5

I42. Ibid, Fig. XXV:4

I43. Brock, Fortetsa, I47. Payne, BSA, 29 (1927-8), 233. pl. V:3,  
5.

I44. Ibid, 28, pl. I8:244

- I45. Ibid, 2
- I46. Agora VIII, pl. 11 the two upper series.
- I47. Brock, Fortetsa, 57:593
- I48. PGP, 40, Daniel, AJA, 41 (1937), 68:y
- I49. The Mycenaean Pottery of Attica in BSA, 42 (1947), 46
- I50. Daniel, AJA, 41 (1937), pl. II. Yon, Salamine II, 27-28,  
pl. 20:52 is fragmentary but its upper part is not far in shape  
from the Athenian example quoted.
- I51. Ker. I, taf. 29. PGP, pl. 6
- I52. Ker. IV, taf. 8. PGP, pl. 6
- I53. Pieridou, RDAC, 1965, p. 87:II5, pl. XIII:I5
- I54. Ker. VI, taf. 4I, inv. 894
- I55. Agora VIII, 54, pl. 11:I98-9
- I56. Brock, Fortetsa pl. 11:I64
- I57. Ibid, pl. 8:I22
- I58. Vrokastro, I29, Fig. 77 ( It is called krater.)
- I59. PGP, 264-5
- I60. Delt. Chr. I8 (1963), 275, pl. 3I9
- I61. AJA, 75 (1971), pl. 76, Fig. I7
- I62. Boardman, BSA, 55 (1960), pl. 32;VIII, 1,2
- I63. Seiradaki, BSA, 55 (1960), 2I, fig. I4:7 pl. 11b
- I64. P.Wh.P. Lip-handled amporiskoi in RDAC, 1965, pls. XIII:I4,  
I5:I6,I7; XIV:5,9
- I65. Iakovides S., Perati II, 237-8
- I66. Bakalakis G., Protogeometrische Hydria, in AM, 76(1961),6I,  
n. 5. He does not accept Desborough's view that the Agora

specimen is transitional sub-Mycenaeen to Protogeometric.

I67. PGP, 43

I68. Styrenius, SS, I20, n. 59

I69. SCE I, tomb 406, I98:30, pl. XLV, fifth row, the seventh vase from the left.

I70. PGP, 43

I71. Themelis P., Protogeometric Necropolis near Lefkandi, in AAA, 2, (I969), 98-99, Figs. I and 4. One more illustrated in Delt. Chr. 2I (I966), pl. 230. All of them belong to LHIIIC period.

I72. BCH, 6I (I937), pl. V:5. PGP, 45 and 20I. Perhaps he is right attributing it to PG times.

I73. SCE I, 230-I:84, I29 respectively and pl. I, first row, second vase from left, second vase from right.

I74. Dawkins R.M., A visit to Skyros, in BSA, 11 (I904-I905), 79, Fig. 3:d

I75. GGP, I59

I76. Delt. Chr. 22 (I967), 464, pl. 344:a

I77. Délos XV, pls. XV, IX, X, etc.

I78. GGP, I80, n. 7. PGP, 44-45

I79. PGP, *ibid*

I80. Délos, pl. VII:25

I81. Coldstream, A Geometric well at Knossos, in BSA, 55 (I960), I63

I82. This date may be even earlier. See L. Rocchetti, Ann. 3I-32 (I969-I970), 42 figs. I-2.

I83. Delt. Chr. 22 (I967), 485-6, pl. 359:b

I84. Pieridou, in RDAC, I964, I26, pl. IX:4



- I85. Nicolaou K., in RDAC, 1965, 32, pl. VI:I2  
I86. SCE IV:2, Fig. XVI:5  
I87. Coldstream, BSA, 55 (1960), pl. 42:I  
I88. SCE I, Lapithos tomb 4I3:23,37, pl. XLIX top row, type I.  
tomb 40I:83, pl. XLI, top row extreme right.  
I89. Brock, Fortetsa, pl. 78:II88  
I90. Davaras C., Two Geometric tombs at Atsalenio near Knossos,  
in BSA, 63 (1968), 140, pl. 44:b.  
I91. Vrokastro, I64, Fig. 99:B  
I92. Ibid, I70, Fig. I03  
I93. cf. Ker. VI taf. 50, inv. 783  
I94. Ibid, pl. 50, inv. 783, 784  
I95. AM, 74 (1959), I2, Brunnen A-E, Beil. I3  
I96. Agora VIII, 35, pl. 3:37, 39  
I97. Delt. Chr. 23 (1968), 9I, pl. 5I  
I98. Young R., in Hesp. Suppl. II (1939), 42  
I99. See RDAC, 1965, pl. VI:I2. BCH, 89 (1965), 240. BMQ, VOL.  
XXXIV, Aut. 1969, 45, pl. XVI  
200. AJA, 68 (1964), I74 ff., pl. 57  
201. PGP, 46  
202. Ker. I, taf. 24, 25  
203. PGP, 46 - 47  
204. GGP, IO  
205. SCE IV:2, Fig. IV:8-I4; VIII:I2,I3,I6,I7; X:I-5  
206. Verbal discussion with her.  
207. cf. SCE IV:2, Fig. IV:I4 and Ker. I, taf. 25, inv. 5II. The

case looks to me a common heritage, bearing no sign of influence from either side.

208. PGP, 56, pl. 27, second row the third.

209. Ibid, pl. 30, second row extreme right.

210. Ibid, pl. 28

211. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 67, fig. 29

212. BSA, 55 (1960), 133:10, pl. 35:V, 10

213. Fortetsa, 155

214. GGP, 243, pl. 53g

215. AJA, 5 (1901), pl. VIII:7

216. PGP, 257

217. SCE IV:2, Fig. XXIII:6

218. Birmingham J., AJA, 67 (1963), 26-27

219. BSA, 29 (1927-8), pl. VI:13

220. Myrtou - Pigadhes, 65, form 442

221. Desborough, Nicholls, Popham, A Euboean Centaur, in BSA, 65 (1970), 24, pl. 11:a.

222. Ibid, 24, n.13

223. Among many examples see BCH, 96 (1972), 1036, fig. 51 of P.Wh.P.

224. BSA, 65 (1970), 23, n.9

225. SCE IV:2, Fig. XIII:18

226. BSA, 65 (1970), 23, n.8. A globular bowl with engraved swastikas, a motif which most probably comes from Cyprus.

227. Fortetsa, p. XVI

228. GGP, table, 330

229. Ibid, I55-6. They range from early Early to Late Orientalizing.
230. We can partly overcome the difficulty if we assume the influence coming from SCE IV:2, Fig. 25:I8 which is late type III. As the shape and the design were still scarce in Cyprus, I do not think they could be the source of inspiration for abroad. How late in the class III series it comes we are not sure ( SCE I, p. 2I3:5) but it can hardly be earlier than its last 20 years.
231. Dark Age, table, I34-5
232. Ibid, I29
233. SCE IV:2, Figs. XIX:7, 11; XXIII:5,6 etc.
234. Fortetsa, pl. 49:475
235. Ann. X - XII, 566, Fig. 62I-b
236. SCE IV:2, Fig. XVII:24
237. Brock, Fortetsa, I57:G I, II
238. Op. Ath. III. Ggerstad, Pottery types, Fig. 9:I9
239. Brock, Fortetsa, pl. 34:473, 509; pl. 6I:I046. Payne BSA, 29 (I927-8), 25I, no. 88, pl. IX:6
240. Ibid, 25I
241. One sherd of a fluted vase is reported from Karphi-Seiradaki, BSA, 55 (I960), p. 2I, n.5I - but it may also be due to Cypriot influence.
242. Brock, p. I4:92 (I03)
243. PGP, 267-8
244. Mirabello Nécropoles by H.V. Effenterre in pp. 26, 60 type D2, pl. VII:D2 and pl. XLIII, in Etudes Crétoises VIII.

245. In Macedonia, there are ribbed vases but as any kind of connexion is lacking at this early stage, I do not regard it as possible to have the influence from there.
246. SCE IV:2, Figs. X:I-5, XVII:I,2,3.
247. BSA, 29 (1927-8), 25I
248. Coldstream, The Phoenicians of Ialysos, 3
249. Delt. Mel. 23 (1968), 84-85, pl. 39:a. The same piece in CR III, 97, Fig. 93, third row, shown upside down.
250. The Phoenicians of Ialysos, 3, pl. I:j,k,l,m,n. Some more are illustrated in CR III, 94, Fig. 84; 97, Fig. 92. For the connexions see GGP, 276.
251. GGP, 75
252. The derivation of the motif of the sets of concentric circles from Cyprus was long ago observed. Schweitzer B., Geometrische Stile in Griechenland, AM, 43 (1918), 143 ff. Young R., Hesp. Suppl. II, 208. Shear L., Hesp. 8 (1939), 226. Marwitz H., Kreis und Figur in JdI, 74 (1959), 94. Brann Eva, Hesp. 30 (1961), 119:L, 10. GGP, 75-76.
253. AM, 43 (1918), pl. 6:2
254. In the same tradition we have an oinochoe from Asine; Robin Hägg, Geometrische Gräber von Asine in Op. Ath. VI, 131, taf. II; I:2.
255. Délos XV pl. L:B The same in Délos XVII, pl. LIX:C. The latter photographs are much clearer.
256. BCH, 89 (1965), 263, Fig. 50
257. BCH, 87 (1963), 361, Fig. 56



258. PGP, 66-69
259. Lapithos tomb 406:70,I3,67 etc. in SCE I, pl. XLV, second row, third, eleventh, twelfth.
260. Myrtou - Pigadhes, 65
261. Enkomi, Vol. IIIa, pl. 95:26
262. Ibid, pl. I06:5
263. Enkomi Vol. I, 3I6
264. BSA, 55 (I960), I4,I5, pl. 5:a,c,d.
265. Enkomi, Vol. I, the table, 438
266. BSA, 55 (I960), 20, Fig. I3, pl. 8:C
267. Perati II, 244 ff.
268. PGP, 69 ff.
269. Myrtou - Pigadhes, 72, form 552
270. Ker. I, pl. 30, Inv. 528
271. The Cypriot vase is Plain White, but unclassified. If we can judge from the vases mentioned with it in the publication, it cannot be dated before CG II B.
272. McFadden, AJA 58 (I954), I37:6, pl. 23, Fig. I9
273. Gjerstad in Op. Arch. III (I944), 93:7, 95:I2. Furumark, Op. Arch. III (I944), 249:22
274. Pieridou, RDAC, I972, pl. 4I. Gjerstad, ibid, pl. I:4,5,6, 7. In addition to these, some more P.Wh.P. ones, are in private collections. CVA, Cyprus II, pl. 24:3,5, pl. 30:5. Two more, one P.Wh.P. one Wh.P.I, come from Lapithos tomb P 74, published in RDAC, I965, pl. XIII:2,3.
275. Karageorghis, Nouveaux Documents, I85 ff., fig. 47 nos 9-I4

- 276. AJA, 4I (I937), 66:n
- 277. Styrenius, in Op. Ath. IV (I962) pl. IV
- 278. p. 53, no. 457
- 279. Op. Arch. III (I944), 92:8,10,11
- 280. Styrenius, op. cit., no. 36I7
- 28I. PGP, 70
- 282. Daniel, AJA 4I (I937), 66:n, pl. IV:76,8I
- 283. BSA,55 (I960), pl. 4:b, top row.
- 284. Ibid, pl. 5:a,b,c.
- 285. Ibid, pl. 11:a, some of the stirrup - jars.
- 286. SCE I, 25I:26; also SCE IV:2, Fig. IV:3
- 287. GGP, 268
- 288. Op. Ath. III, II5, Fig. 8
- 289. Karageorghis V., in BCH 92 (I968), 307 f.
- 290. Dr. Snodgrass starts it c. 840. This suits more the Cypriot side; it definately speaks against the beginning of CGIII before 875.
- 29I. GGP, pl. 59:b,c
- 292. Op. Ath. III, p. II5
- 293. Acta Arch., 28 (I958), 37:70 (DI3), 7I (DI4)
- 294. GGP, pl. 59:f and p. 269
- 295. AM 28 (I903), Beil. XX:1,2
- 296. Délos XV, pl. I4, Aa 57
- 297. cf. Exochi, p. I60, Abb. 223 and 224. Also SCE IV:2, Fig. XIX:I2 the latter is type III; pp. 298-9.
- 298. GGP, 276

299. Acta Arch. 28 (1958), 155 - 161
300. Delt. Mel. 23 (1968), 76 ff, especially 86-92. He refers to the material from Ialysos.
301. The Phoenicians of Ialysos, 2. He refers to and illustrates some more examples.
302. Praktika Protou Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou, vol. A, Nicosia 1972, p. 15, n. 4
303. CR III, 145, fig. 139
304. See n. 301
305. The Phoenicians of Ialysos, 2, pl. 1:f
306. The Cypriot counterparts are not Red-Slip but I do not think that they did not exist in that fabric also.
307. See Papapostolou's opinion on the problem. Delt. Mel. 23 (1968), 90
308. Myres, JHS 26 (1906), 120-2. Fotheringham, Myres, JHS 27 (1907), 75, 123 ff., respectively.
309. Phoenicians of Ialysos, pl. 1:e. Papapostolou is also of the opinion that it is Phoenician. See Delt. Mel. 23 (1968) p.90.
310. Phoenicians of Ialysos, 4
311. Op. Ath. III, 115, fig. 8
312. Fortetsa, 160, n.1
313. Ibid, pl. 109:1262, 1448; p. 190
314. BSA 49 (1954), pl. 26:59, 60
315. Hood - Boardman, in BSA 56 (1961), 74:15, pl. 10
316. p. 124:1432, pl. 97
317. SCE IV:2, Fig. XXII:11, XXVIII:19. The latter not from a

scientific context.

- 3181. C. Davaras, in BSA 63 (1968), 141:B3, pl. 43:d.
- 319. BSA, 49 (1954), pl. 26:58, 61, 62, 63.
- 320. Levi, Ann. X-XII, figs. 399, 400; possibly EO.
- 321. BSA 63 (1968), pl. 43:a (B23)
- 322. Brock, pl. 45:646 which is MG, pl. 71:1052 which is EO.
- 323. Payne, BSA 29 (1927-8), 276
- 324. Fortetsa, p. 155:II E. It looks rather like a bottle with long neck. Brock saw connexion with bottles of CG I-II - p. 155, n.2-
- 325. Fortetsa, pl. 97:1201; pl. 109:1251
- 326. Ibid, pl. 97:1307, 1533 etc.
- 327. AM 78 (1963), Beil 23:5 from grave III
- 328. AM 28 (1903), Beil, XIX:8, 11, p. 150:62, 63
- 329. Ibid, Beil, XX:6, p. 150:64
- 330. Ibid, Beil, XX:5
- 331. Délos XV, pl. 10, 38
- 332. GGP, 179
- 333. Ibid, 191, pl. 41:f
- 334. CR, III, 95, fig. 86, tomb LIV
- 335. See supra n. 302 for imports in the island of Cos.
- 336. Fortetsa, p. 190
- 337. PGP, 77 - 92
- 338. Ibid, 80
- 339. Pieridou, RDAC, 1965, 107 no. 214
- 340. RDAC, 1967, pl. XII:1,2



341. PGP, pl. I2
342. Ibid, 89
343. GGP, 263
344. Cross-hatched triangles and lozenges is the commonest motif in Cyprus.
345. Bollettino d' Arte I950, 3I9, fig. 90. PGP, pl. 30
346. RDAC, I965, pl. XII:7, no. 256
347. All of them belong to late Protogeometric. See PGP, 84
348. Delt. Chr. 22 (I967), I78, pl. I28:b
349. SCE IV:2, Fig. XV:I3
350. See chapter on trefoil-lipped oinochoai, p.46
351. (CVA Deutschland, Fas. 27, Haidelberg (3), taf. I02:5) Its height is only 8,9 cm.
352. Myrtou - Pigadhes, 62, forms 409 -11
353. PGP, pl. I6:I46
354. Delt. Chr. I9 (I964), pl. 83:b. Thorikos I, 85, figs. IOI, IO2. It is 20.6 cm. high. It is regarded as belonging to Desborough's type II but in a developed form, and dating probably c. 900 B.C.
355. Patelle Cemetery, tomb XLV. Further reference see PGP, 8I
356. Myrtou - Pigadhes, forms 405,6,7,8,9,I0,I1. SCE IV:2, Fig. III:3-4, XIII:2
357. SCE I, pl. CXXIV:8 from Lapithos tomb 420:82. RDAC, I966 pl. III:9, no. 28
358. PGP, pl. 23:I48. BSA, 3I (I930-I) pl. VII:I24, IX:I45,I46 I48,I49

359. PGP, I93. Dark Ages, I97, indicates that their emergence occurred a little earlier than 900 B.C.
360. JHS, 85 (I965), I2, n. 27. Tarsus, Al Mina and Greek chronology.
361. GGP, I56 - I57
362. Chios: Greek Emporio, BSA suppl. vol. 6, II7
363. Tarsus III, 305. The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to H. Goldman I65 ff.
364. Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea, I964-66, preliminary report edited by Popham - Sackett. see especially p. 28.
365. Mrs Pieridou has shown me a kylix of type III with pendent semicircles. It was found in a tomb at Leonarisso north-east of Famagusta. She will publish it shortly.
366. See end of this chapter.
367. It is in the Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery. There is no registration number.
368. SCE IV:2, Figs. XIV:1, XX:2. In its horizontal form is much more frequent. See Figs. XXXII:2,10; XXXV:I4,I5.
369. Dikaios, AA I963, cols. I37, I38. It may date c. 730-720 B.C. See Chronological Framework.
370. BCH, 89 (I965), 269, fig. 56
371. Ker. VI, taf. I3I, inv. I283
372. GGP, 84
373. Ibid, pl. 63:e
374. SCE II, I44 ff, pl. XXX, first row, fourth from left.
375. GGP, 320

376. Courbin, CGA, pl. 58, c. 530
377. SCE II, I44 ff., pl. XXX, top row first.
378. Karageorghis, NS I 60:38, pl. LIX, type IV. This type of skyphos is discussed by Boardman in *Anatolian Studies* 9, (1959) I63 ff. He derives it from the Euboean Cycladic workshops. See Karageorghis, *ibid*, 64, n. 5
379. The comparison of the two skyphoi is more easily understood in NS I, pl. CXXXII
380. BCH, 92 (1968), 316, fig. 99. NS II, I53:27, pl. CLXXXI
381. cf. *Anatolian Studies* 9 (1959), I65, fig. 1:23
382. SCE II, 89, pl. XX third row, the fifth. Also in SCE IV:2, Fig. XXI:8
383. BCH, 90 (1966), 307, fig. 25. Cyp. Mus. Inv. 1965/IV - 22/7
384. Johansen, *Acta Arch.* 28 - 29 (1957-8), p37, Abb. 72 (DI6); p. 33. Abb. 50 (C3)
385. Christodoulou A., in *RDAC*, 1968, 69:20, pl. XVI:4; also in BCH, 91 (1967), 290, fig. 38
386. BCH, 91 (1971), 361, figs. 52,53
387. GGP, pl. 58:d,f
388. *Anatolian Studies*, 9 (1959), I64, n. 5
389. GGP, I06, pl. 21:d
390. Schweitzer, *AM* 43 (1918), I43 ff. Young, *Hesp. Suppl.* II, 70, I74, I75 and 208 refers to the same subject. It seems that the first Greeks who came in frequent contact with the Orient and Cyprus were the Euboeans, so I regard them as the transporters of the motif and not the Corinthians.

391. RDAC, 1964, I22
392. GGP, pl. 41:a
393. Ibid, pl. 55:d
394. Anatolian Studies 9 (1959), I64. It is seen on a LG krater's handle from Samos. Samos V, taf. 2I:II9.
395. SCE IV:2, Fig. XVIII:5
396. GGP, pl. 64:a
397. SCE IV:2, Fig. II:3 of CG I. SCE II, pls XCII:4,5,7, CI:11 which are type II. Beshayes, Ktima, pl. LVII:9 which is type III.
398. PGP, 92-98. Ker. I, I27-I30. In the Attic tradition is another krater which turned up from Halicarnassus in Asia Minor. It is perhaps very late 10th cent. Bass G.F., Mycenaean tombs in Halicarnassus, in AJA 67 (1963), 358, pl. 83, Fig. I5.
399. GGP, I7-I8
400. Ibid, I8
401. AA, 1963, I99, fig. 40. SCE II, 81, pl. XIX:1, CXL:1
402. GGP, I72 with references, pl. 35
403. Ibid, I55
404. The same in KS, 1967, pl. XIV:5
405. GGP, I76, pl. 37:e
406. Ibid, pl. 44:j
407. SCE IV:2, Fig. XXXII:2
408. Ibid, Fig. XXXII:8,9
409. Ibid, Fig. XXXVIII:3,4
410. BCH, 93 (1969), 444, Fig. 20 a-b. Cyp. Mus. Inv. 1968/IX-



4II. Near enough parallels are a vertical meander on a krater now in Providence U.S.A. (CVA, Providence No. 1, U.S.A. Fas. 2, pl. 8:1b) which in any case is simple, while a better example is perhaps to be found on a low footed Krater from Thera. See N.M.Kondoleon, Theraisches, in AM, 73 (1958), Beil. 99. According to Coldstream it is sub - Geometric, (GGP, I87, n.9) but it seems that it can also be Geometric. There is no real Orientalizing air <sup>about</sup> ~~on~~ it and I regard its shape <sup>as</sup> <sub>L</sub> an influence from the Argolid rather than Attica. The tangential circles all round the Thera krater are well known in the Argolid ( Courbin, CGA, pl. 40:c 240, pl. 100, pl. 128: c 76I ) and also the zigzag pattern above it. ( Ibid, pl. 40: c 240, pl. 41:c 210B ). True enough, the design on the Thera vase is more debased than on the Argive ones but this may be due to clumsiness of the imitator. Its shape has nothing to do with the deep body and the higher foot, both characteristics of the sub - Geometric Argive kraters, (GGP, I46) so we can date it towards the very end of the 8th century.

4I2. Les Vases Sicyoniens, 59, Fig. 36

4I3. Karag. V., Nouvelles Tombes de Guerriers A Palaepaphos, in BCH, 91 (1967), 202 ff.

4I4. Ibid, 220-I, fig. 7-8

4I5. Dr. Karageorghis wants them Cretan. See BCH, 91 (1967), 220, n.3

4I6. Fortetsa, Pithoi pl. 52 nos. 810, 814, 817; pl. 56, 885, 895; pl. 63, no. 999, 1056 etc. of IG and EO. In fact, only

the last two have white back<sup>2</sup>ground. I056 is IG and 999 is not securely dated. The white paint was "admirably exploited" in IG Crete (Fortetsa p. I88) so the influence must be regarded as slightly later.

4I7. Acta Arch. 28 - 29 (I957-8), iff.

4I8. Close enough to the meander of the krater is one on a jug from Rhodes, (Exochi, p. I3I, Abb. 2I3) which could be perhaps early 7th cent. Its decoration has ultimately affinities to Délos XVII, BaI belly-handled amphora with a kind of step-meander on the neck. See S.Ingrid, Some Groups of Cycladic Vase-Painting from the Seventh Century B.C., in Acta Arch. 33 (I962), 249, Fig. IOa-b. The Delian amphora, generally regarded as Naxian, is probably very early 7th cent. (Ibid, 256) and I am inclined to date the Cypriot krater ~~at~~ the end of the first quarter of the 7th cent.

4I9. Karageorghis V., Some Cypriot painters of bulls in the Archaic period, in JdI, 80 (I965), pp. 8-9, figs. 9-IO. SCE IV:2, Fig. XXXII:5.

420. FGP, 98

42I. Ibid, 99 - IO0

422. AA, I97I, p. 7, Abb. IO. More come from Salamis; Yon Salamine II, pl. 38. According to her they belong to P.Wh.P. apart from No. I88 which is Wh.P.I

423. Enkomi II, p. 595:239

424,5,7,8. SCE IV:2, 49, Fig. III:7,8; Fig. XIII:4; Fig. XVIII:II, I2,I3; Fig. XXVIII:I3, respectively. Gjerstad in Op. Ath. III

(1960), II2, fig. 3:7

426. It seems to me that at least in the first stage of CGII we have some sporadic examples with high foot like Lapithos tomb

425:4I. A part of it is missing but it looks like a cup. It is Wh.P.II

429. Desborough, LMS, p. 25

430. Styrenius, SS, Figs. 5,37

431. Daniel J., AJA 41 (1937), pl. III:88,3,6,2,102; pl. IV:83

100,101,98,39,96,99,97. SCE IV:2, Fig. III:7,8.

432. PGP, I00

433. SCE I, 2I8:8, pl. XLVIII, second from the upper row.

434. Ker. I, pl. 33

435. PGP, I02

436. Young R., Graves from the Phaleron cemetery, in AJA 46 (1942), 23 ff.

437. Fortetsa, 58:622, pl. 38

438. Boardman J, in BSA, 55 (1960), I34, pl. 36:V16

439. Brock, Fortetsa, I66-7. Boardman, BSA, 55 (1960), pl. 36

440. Ibid, I40, pl. 36

441. Pottery from Karphi, in BSA 55, (1960), 2I n. 49, fig. I4, pl. 55:e

442. BCH, 9I (1967), 290, fig. 37

443. PGP, I02

444. SCE I, 275:5 pl. I23:1; SCE IV:2, Fig. II:I7

445. Deshayes, Ktima, pp. 62,77,2I4,240,24I, pls. XIX:6, LXVII:1

446. MP, 6I, Fig. I7:275,276; p. 632

447. AE, 1932, p.32, pl. 6:44, I2:222,225. LMS, 105, pl. 9
448. Note what Furumark says for it in MP, 63, n. 2
449. Snodgrass A., Dark Age, 243
450. S. Benton, Excavations in Ithaca III, in BSA, 39 (1938-9),  
I3, pl. 8
451. Delt. Chr. 23 (1968), pl. 201. Idem, AAA, 1 (1968), 291
452. Desborough, Dark Ages, 98, pl. 18
453. LAAA vol. III, 107 ff, pl. XXIX
454. Gjerstad, Initial date, in Op. Arch. III, 96
455. MP, 61, Fig. I7:276
456. S. Benton, BSA, 39 (1938-9), pl. 8
457. Ibid, I3 n. 6 where she holds the same opinion even though  
from a different point of view, regarding both as independent  
innovations.
458. This because of the presence of the Asine evidence ( see n<sup>o</sup>  
455 ).
459. Seiradaki M., in BSA, 55 (1960), 25, Figs. 18,22, pl. 10b
460. Seiradaki, ibid, p. 26
461. Effenterre, Mirabello, in Etudes Crétoises VIII, pl. XV:D30,  
pl. XLI
462. Hall, Vrokastro, I50, Fig. 89:A and C
463. Furumark, Op. Arch. III (1944), p. 217:I2 and p. 229
464. Gjerstad, Initial date, 96
465. AJA, 58 (1954), I37, pl. 23, Fig. 21, No. 8. For discussion  
on it see chronological framework.
466. AJA, 41 (1937), 65:m, pl. IV:54



467. BCH, 90 (1966), 362, Fig. I20. The excavator does not say whether it is Cypriot or imported.
468. See Op. Arch. III, 78:4. for a P.Wh.P. example.
469. J - C, Courtois, Alasia I, 286:E,F,G,H,J. A single ring on the stem below the bowl is also seen on a P.Wh.P. kylix from Kouklia published in BCH, 96 (1972), I036, fig. 53
470. SCE II, 9I:6, pl. XXIII, second row the first. The same SCE IV:2, Fig. XIII:2
471. Hesp. I8 (1949), 295, Fig. IO. Also in PGP, pl. I5 and GGP, pl. 1:c.
472. Ker. VI, pl. 84, inv. 930
473. Such connexions were also observed by Miss J. du Plat Taylor and Lord William Taylour in Myrtou - Pigadhes, 62, forms 405 - 408 especially the latter.
474. GGP, II, pl. 1:c. I do not think that the ordinary Attic low-footed kantharos might be used as the basis for the Attic kylikes despite the use of the word "ringed-kantharos" for them by Coldstream.
475. Karageorghis, Nouveaux Documents, I92-3, with discussion and references about the shape.
476. PGP, I18
477. Op. Arch. III (1944), 96
478. LMS, 26
479. Dark Ages, 52 and 57
480. CVA Cyprus 2, pl. 24:I-2, pl. 36:6, pl. 37:5-6, etc.
481. SCE II, 376:3, pl. LXXI

482. JHS, 8 (1887), 74
483. CBMW, 190 ff.
484. Ibid, 222
485. Ibid, pl. 39:c. Alalakh, pl. LXXIV
486. CBMW, 219
487. Karageorghis, Cyprus, 64
488. CBMW, 223
489. We even have a piece from a 7th cent. context from Samos which is attributed by Jantzen to the 12th cent. B.C. See Samos VIII, pp. 40,41, taf. 37, no. B 964
490. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 281 ff.
491. Karageorghis, Cyprus, 143
492. Karageorghis, Cyprus, 146
493. Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck in Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 57, part 8, 1967 p. 120. Enkomi II, p. 512
494. Ibid
495. Ibid, 125. It is suggested 1200<sup>±</sup> 50 on grounds of pottery. The same chronology was given by C14 dating.
496. Inv. no I970/VI - 1/1. Published in BCH, 95 (1971), 351, fig. 23.
497. Catling, CBMW, 193:4, pl. 27:f
498. Published in AM, 18 (1893), 414, pl. XIV
499. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 251
500. Bronze tripods from Kourion, in GRBS, 3 (1960), 15
501. CBMW, 214:1, pl. 38:a,b

502. Ibid, 215:I, II. Coldstream, GGP, 15. Catling in Op. Ath.  
II, 1955, 33, n. II3
503. BSA, 8 (1901-2), 250, Fig. 21. The photograph is unsatisfactory.
504. Delt. Chr. 22 (1967), 95, pl. 87:d. AA, 1968, p. 125, Abb.2,  
3
505. CBMW 214, pl. 38:c,d
506. SCE IV:2, Fig. VII:8,9. SCE I, pl. CXXX:5; CXXXII:5. Two  
miniature examples from Iapithos and one from Kythrea are under  
9 cm. high. RDAC, 1965, p. 55:105. pl. VIII:9, p. 95:189,  
p. 103:285, pl. XIII:4,5
507. MP, 67, Fig. 20:336. Also Blegen, Zygouries, 148, Fig. 138
508. Delt. Chr. 23 (1968), pl. 161:a
509. Delt. Chr. 18 (1963), 83, pl. 95:a
510. Cf. Delt. Chr. 18 (1963), 83, pl. 95:a and SCE IV:2, Fig.  
VII:8
511. Catling's idea that it imitates a four-sided stand which has  
not survived does not seem very probable.
512. CBMW, 214:III, pl. 38:e. SCE IV:2, Fig. XV:5
513. CBMW, pl. 39:3. Ker. V1, taf. 69, inv. 407
514. GGA, 174-5, pl. 214
515. CVA Copenhagen 2, p. 53:3, pl. 72:3
516. Myres, LAAA, vol. III, 1910 pl. XXIX:20. Also in SCE IV:2,  
Fig. VII:10
517. CBMW, 214:IV
518. Myres, LAAA, 1910, II4. no. 20. No measurements are mentioned.

519. Ibid
520. PM, II, I33, I34, Fig. 70 bis. Perhaps LM II. It has a double tier of openings and it is surmounted by horns of consecration.
521. MacAlister R.A.S., The excavations of Gezer vol. III, pl. CVI, no. I43:6
522. The example from Karphi is of course of the " Intermediate " stage c. 1100 B.C.
523. Ker. IV, taf. 25, Inv. 2028, 2029. They are 23.9 and 20.7 cm. high respectively.
524. PGP, II8. Snodgrass, Dark Age, II9, etc.
525. CBMW, 214:IV
526. GGP, I83, pl. 39:a,d
527. A. Cambitoglou, AJA, 64 (1960), 366-7, pl. 109. Coldstream's dating of these pieces as MG II seems rather early.
528. BSA, 38 (1937-8), pl. XXXIV
529. The Cretan Collection in Oxford, I33, Fig. 49:B,C
530. Ibid, I49-I50
531. Brock, Fortetsa, pl. I3:I88. See Coldstream, BSA, 67 (1972), 65.
532. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 285. He accepts Catling's opinion and expresses the view that there might be no continuous tradition of tripod casting in Greece.
533. For the nomenclature see Stubbings in BSA, 42 (1947), 53,54
534. Schaeffer, Missions en Chypre, pl. XXXV:i
535. Karageorghis, Fouilles de Kition 1959 in BCH, 84 (1960), 557, fig. 92. Furumark, in Op. Arch. III (1944), 235, fig. 10:23,25.



- RDAC, 1966, pl. II:7,8,9,10
536. BCH, 94 (1970), 224, Fig. 69. BCH, 84 (1960), 556, fig. 88, etc.
537. A. Pieridou, A tomb group from Lapithos, "Ayia Anastasia", in RDAC, 1966, 1 ff., pl. III:51,52
538. CVA Cyprus, Fas. 1, pl. 35:1-2. Gjerstad, Op. Arch. III (1944), p. 79, fig. 2:I4,I5,I6. BCH, 86 (1962), 395, fig.9I, from Enkomi. Furumark, Excavations at Sinda, in Op. Ath. VI (1965), pl. II. Maier F.G. in AA, 1967, p. 3II, Abb. II-I2 etc.
539. MP, 34 nos. 6,7,8,9
540. Theocharis D.R., in AE 1953-4 (3), 7I, fig. I8. Coldman H., I57, fig. 2I8. Spyropoulos in Delt. Mel. 24 (1969), pl. 39:b. Blegen in Hesp. 23 (1954), pl. 37, figs. 2,3. Blegen, Zygouries, I23, fig. II5. From the same site we have an EH example on p. IO4, fig. 89
541. Iakovides, Perati II, 24I
542. Delt. I3 (1930-I), I59, fig 2I, last row, the fifth from left.
543. Iakovides, Perati II, 242, no. 976 from tomb I34
544. For references see ibid, n. 1,2,3; p. 243, n. 1,2,3
545. Yialouris N., in Delt. Mel. 20 (1965), pl. 23 no. IO6; p.33
546. Kurt Bittel, Anatolische Metallgefäße des Dritten Jahrtausends, in JdI 74 (1959), p. I4, Abb. 28 of type A1; 24, Abb. 35 and p. 26, Abb. 37 of type A.
547. Op. Arch. III, 237; Furumark's type I

548. Asine, 28I, fig. I93:4, 8 cm high of MH II times.
549. BCH, 9I (I967), 750, fig. 4
550. Asine, 29I, Fig. 200:5 and 293, fig. 20I
- 55I. Op. Arch. III, I944, p. 236, type G, p. 235, Fig. IO:I6
552. Two examples of type B2 made of coarse buff-coloured clay were discovered long ago in South Western Asia Minor. See H.A. Ormerod in BSA, I8 (I9II-2), 80,83 f., pl. VI:3 and VII:3. What relationship they have with the material from the Aegean and the Near East it cannot be clear as no stratigraphy is mentioned for them. Perati II, 232,3,4. He accepts LHIIIB as the period of their emergence.
553. Amiran R., 267 photos 272,273. pl. 84:II; pl. 88:II etc. are crude examples.
554. Op. Arch. III, 237, type H. See also n. 9. More EC are in, Archaeologia 88 (I938), pl. LII:I3 and BCH, 9I (I967), 300, fig. 65. MC are Enkomi IIIa, pl. 203:1, 2I4:6 etc.
555. Daniel's statement in AJA, 4I (I937), p. 66:r, that our type "A" did not occur in the Aegean after LHIIIB is not valid any more. For this see Perati II, 24I
556. Hesp. VI, 367, Fig. 30. Agora p. 6836
557. E. Smithson in Hesp. 30 (I96I), I70:53
558. BSA, 53-54 (I958-9), 25I:XI,3; pl. 57:c of LMIIIB from Gypsadhes
559. Late Minoan Vases and Bronzes in Oxford in BSA, 63 (I968), I26-7
560. Blegen, Zygouries, IO4

561. Seiradaki M, in BSA, 55 (1960), I4, Fig. IO, pls. 4:b top row, 5:b,d; 11:b
562. Etudes Crétoises VIII, pl. XLV:D I3, pp. 30, 61
563. Ibid, D I4, D I5. Cable pattern on the neck and net of dotted lozenges on the shoulder.
564. Op. Arch. III (1944), 237, n. 6. If there is any relationship with the vases illustrated with them (Mon. Antichi I2, col. II5, fig. 45) then they could be very early sub-Minoan.
565. AJA, 5 (1901), pl. IX:I6
566. PGP, 257
567. Brock, Fortetsa, I53 under the name of Drinking jar, pl. 38: 623,626
568. Boardman in BSA, 55 (1960), I33, I40, pl. 37:IV,5,6; V:I2; VIII:9
569. BSA, 49 (1954), pl. 26:I04. Idem, BSA, 62 (1967), 59, pl. 9: I04
570. Droop J.P., in BSA, I2 (1905-6), 45, Fig. 22, nos. 32I0,32II
571. cf. SCE IV:2, Fig. XIX:I2 of CG III
572. BCH, 95 (1971), I057, fig. 557
573. JdI, 1 (1886), I36:2996. Comments by Desborough in PGP, 227
574. PGP, 224, pl. 30. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 75, fig. 34
575. Tiryns I, pl. XVI:I0
576. BSA, 31 (1930-I), p. 23:69, pl. V, top right.
577. Casson in BSA, 24 (1919-20), I3,fig. 9. BSA, 26 (1923-4), I0 fig. 3:1. Heurtley - Hutchinson, BSA, 27 (1925-6), pl. XX:2
578. BCH, 85 (1961), 850, fig. 2

579. Ann. 47-48 (1969-70), 474, fig. I4

580. Prototypes might be Op. Ath. VI, R.S. Merrillees, pl. II, fig. 6 of LCI. Karageorghis, Cyprus, fig. 53, early Late Bronze Age. Also, Studies, I72, flasks 2,3, I96 flask 2. Two alabaster flasks from Cyprus are of uncertain dating. One is published by Dr. Karageorghis in AJA, 60 (1956),353, Ill. I, the other one by the late Prof. Dikaio in RDAC, I934, p. I6, pl. VI:4. Are they really Iron Age ones or are they earlier? (pl. I2b)

581. AJA, 4I (I937), 69:e

582. Chronology, I25

583. Initial date, 99

584. J.G.Duncan, Corpus of Palestinian Pottery, pl. 66 W2, Y,Z.

Another one from Megiddo is shown by R. Amiran, Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land, pl. 96:8

585. Chronology I26. Accepting II25 as the beginning of CGI, he included in it early P.Wh.P. material because he regarded it as in the same tradition, although he knew that chronologically it belonged to LC III. When Gjerstad made the distinction between P.Wh.P. and Wh.P.I, obviously the beginning of CG was pushed downwards. Under the new division, Furumark refuted his first statement in Op. Arch. III, 262, where he accepted IO50 for the beginning of CG I.

586. R.A.S. McAlister, Gezer III, pl. LXXXV:5,6,8,2. No. 6 is illustrated by Amiran, in Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land, pl. 90:6, along with another one from Tell Fara, tomb 609 in



pl. 96:15

587. SCE I, pl. CVII:3,4,5

588. R.A.S. McAlister, The excavation of Gezer, Vol. II, 238, fig.  
390:3

589. Cf. Studies, p. 223, flasks I-2. The Gezer example is something between the two.

590. Dr. Karageorghis, RDAC 1967, p. 23 dates a tomb from Palaepaphos, where a bottle was present, in the first half of the IIth cent. but as he says it is transitional from LC III to CG I so I think it must come immediately before CG I, in other words in the second quarter of the IIth cent., if we follow Gjerstad's chronological scheme.

591. Initial date, 99

592. Ibid, pl. I:23

593. Pieridou, RDAC 1965, pl. X:3, p. 82 no. 59

594. RDAC 1967, I4, fig. 9:I8

595. CVA, Cyprus II, pl. 38:5 in the Michaelides collection. Ibid, pl. 40:3-4 in the Ianitis collection. The first with foot, the second footless, with handle from shoulder to lip and decoration of horizontal rows of lozenges on the body.

596. Daniel in AJA 41 (1937), 69:e. Lapithos tomb 406:31,32 in SCE I, pl. CXXX:I-2. Amathus tomb I5:35 in SCE II, pl. XXIII, third row the sixth. All of them, apart from the last one, are drawn in SCE IV:2, Fig. V:4,5,6,7 with an additional one (no.3) the Cyp. Mus. B.695. Worth mentioning are two more in alabaster of probable CG I date. See n. 580. The one published by Dikaios may be even earlier.

597. Lapithos tomb 403:I24, fifth row, tenth from left in SCE I, pl. XLIII, p. 190. Lapithos tomb 429:I3, in SCE I, pl. LVII, first in the second row. A miniature one 8 cm. high was dated by Dr. Karageorghis as Wh.P.I - II, perhaps transitional from the one phase to the other. The individuality of this example lies on a plastic bucranium attached on the shoulder between the handles. Published in BCH, 86 (1962) 330, fig. 4
598. Salamine II, pl. 24: 73,75,76,77,78
599. Daniel, *ibid*, n.596
600. I do not know if she regarded hers as P.Wh.P. because there is a tendency to date the Kourion tombs in the first half of the IIth cent. See Desborough, LMS, 27.
601. RDAC, 1967, 23
602. LMS, 27, pl. I6. Also Ker. I, taf. 27, inv. 507, taf. 37, second row the right one.
603. Styrenius,<sup>55</sup>64, classification of tomb 97, absolute chronology on p. I64, fig. 24. PGP, pl. I.
604. *Ibid*, Dr. Snodgrass agrees with him, Dark Age, 37,38 fig.8 but not Miss J. du Plat Taylor; see PEQ, 1956, 35, where she regards the influence travelling the opposite direction.
605. CVA Cyprus II, pl. 40:4
606. The same is illustrated in CVA Cyprus I, pl. 36:9. It is 16 cm. high.
607. For its history see Gjerstad, SCE IV:2, 283-4, where he derives it correctly from the Cypriot Late Bronze lentoid flasks (=pilgrim flasks). See also Johansen, Exochi, I27.

608. Gjerstad, Pottery Types, in Op. Ath. III (1960), fig. VII, I-10, p. II4
609. Archaeology, 25 (1972), 17
610. Prof. Mervyn Popham kindly informed me that Gjerstad would date the vase to early CG II, Mrs Pieridou to early CG III.
611. SCE IV:2, 264. Coldstream, Phoenicians of Ialysos 2, pl. I: b,c
612. GGP, 265. Dark Age, 78. PGP, 35
613. The fabric of the two barrel-jugs is in dispute. Papapostolou Delt. Mel. 1968, 81, n. 16a refers to them as Cypriot despite Johansen's view, Acta Arch. 1957-8, 128, for Rhodian manufacture.
614. CVA Cop. II, pl. 65:3,6,7;47. The same in Johansen's article ibid, 129, Abb. 210-212.
615. GGP, 267, Phoenicians of Ialysos, 2, n. 9
616. Johansen, Exochi, 36:D 11; 40, Abb. 77-80. The same, Schweitzer, GGA, 84, fig. 47
617. Courbin, CGA, 542
618. AM, 1893, 138. BSA, 1948, pl. 40:54I and 544
619. Levi, Ann. X-XII, 272, Fig. 337
620. Hartley M., in BSA, 31 (1930-1), 66 no. 29; 71:29
621. AM, 78 (1963), 52-53, Beil. 26:2,27:1
622. GGP, 131
623. AM, 13 (1888), 288, n. 2. See also SCE IV:2, 297, n. 10
624. L. Aström, Studies on the arts and crafts of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age, II5. For a rich list of these objects see M. Yon, Salamine II, 46. Myrtou - Pigadhes p. 77. D.M.Bailey, Lamps

- in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in *Op. Ath.* VI, p. 60:199.  
In BCH, 31 (1907), 238, pl. XXII there is a specimen with two bulls'heads and a strange "bowl". Catling sees connexions with the metal tripods in the shape of a stem with volutes . See CBMW 215 . Another one in BCH, 94 (1970), 199, Fig. 9,a-b.  
More in Enkomi IIIa pl. I46:6,7,8 etc. Enkomi I, 290
625. Enkomi I, 394-5 no. 9, vol. IIIa, pl. 213:18
626. Salamine II, 81
627. SCE I, 184 ff. no. 127. Also illustrated in SCE IV:2, 171:27
628. BCH, 94 (1970), 199, Fig. 9,a-b
629. See chronological framework. Another type II example is in BCH, 90 (1966), 307, Fig. 22
630. BCH, 83 (1959), 340, Fig. 5. Also in *Fasti Archaeologici* 13 (1958) pl. IX:28 (1868)
631. Myres J., in LAAA vol. III, plate XXIX:21:A-B on the handles of the amphora. McFadden in *AJA* 58 (1954), pl. 23, Fig. 20, No. 7, on a trefcil-lipped oinochoe.
632. CBMW, 162
633. No. 103 - 185 cl. D.M.Bailey, in *Op. Ath.* VI, 60
634. Ibid. Incorrectly Bailey regarded it as bull's head and of CG I or II date.
635. SCE IV:2, Fig. III:2
636. For their characteristics see PGP, 106 ff. Somewhat lengthy discussions are found also in *Hesp.* 30 (1961), 163:37-41 and 37 (1968), 87:6-13.
637. *Hesp.* II (1933), 468-70, fig. 18, on the amphora's mouth.



638. Inv. I962/VIII - IO/2. Published in BCH, 87 (I963), 330:3; 33I, fig. 9 where Dr. Karageorghis has noticed the connexions with Attica.
639. BCH, 87 (I963), 362:2, fig. 57a,b
640. Ker. I, p. I87, taf. 59 inv. 77I and 772
- 64I. Ker. IV, p. 32, taf. 3, inv. 924
642. PGP, II9
643. Ibid, II2-3
644. PGP, II2 pl. I3. Ker. I, taf. 6I, inv. 533
645. PGP, ibid.
646. CVA, Cyprus Fas. 2, p. 32, fig. 4:1, pl. 33
647. In a recent article, BCH, 94 (I970), 3II-I7, Mme M. Yon discusses the matter of the horned animals on pottery of the XIth century in Cyprus.
648. Seiradaki, BSA, 55 (I960), I8, pls. 7 and 8:a-b
649. The pyxis comes from tomb "A". It may belong to LMIIIB2c times. Xanthoudides S., in AE I904 pl. 3
650. AA, 84 (I969), 397, Abb. I4. Maier F.G., in RDAC, I969, 38, pl. III:2
- 65I. Yon M., Salamine II, 4I pl. 25:79
652. SCE IV:2, Fig. III:5,6. For Cyp. Mus. B. 63, there is a good description in KS, I967, 54 pl. XIV:3-4 by Mrs. Pieridou.
653. BCH, 8I (I957), 654, figs. 29,30
654. We stated before that the influence was rather coming from Karphi. The material evidence of the place suggests a date of habitation in the second half of LMIIIC with a probable

earlier foundation. (Sackett & Popham, Excavations at Palaikastro VI, in BSA, 60 (1965), 247 ff.) The latter period is equated to Furumark's LMIIIB2 (ibid p. 280 n.61). However, it is stated (p.281) that their Kastri pottery belongs to an earlier stage than Karphi. They ascribe the Kastri material between I230-II30 so, obviously, the beginning of Karphi cannot be placed before II00 B.C. Desborough's belief is that it was inhabited since the middle or latter part of LMIIIC, which according to him ranges between I200-I050 B.C. in the Argolid, (LMS, p.241) for only one hundred years (ibid. p.I75). Here, a year c.II00 is accepted for its beginning. The pyxides found there, are perhaps some of the earliest specimens, while the one in the Michaelides' collection might be in the middle or latter part of the P.Wh.P. series. (see RDAC, 1967, p. I7, pl. I, for a Kalathos with figured decoration which might be contemporary).

655. Karageorghis V., An early XIth century B.C. tomb from Palaepaphos, in RDAC, 1967, p. I9. His view however that the type was invented by Cypriot potters without influence from Crete cannot hold good in the light of the evidence from there. See also ibid, n. IO about the false spout. Daniel J., in AJA, 41 (1937), 67:u, pls. I, IV. SCE IV:2, Fig. II:6,7. Gjerstad, Initial Date, in Op. Arch. III (1944) p. 78 nos.I9-22. Similar to no. I9 is one in the Museum of Glasgow.
656. Gjerstad in Op. Arch. 1944, pl. I:I8 which is P.Wh.P. and SCE IV:2, Fig. II:6
657. Ibid

658. For EC examples see El. and J. Stewart, Vounous 1937-38, Lund 1950, pl. LXXXI - LXXXV, etc. Gjerstad, Studies, II:5:2; Karageorghis, Cyprus, fig. 37. The same view about the lineage of these vases is held by H. Hencken in Tarquinia, Villanovans and Early Etruscans, p. 467
659. After CGI, no examples are known in Cyprus. The first known Cretan example with excrescent cup is perhaps one from Mochlos carved out of beautiful alabaster, (R.B. Seager, Explorations in the island of Mochlos, p. 43:V,1, Fig. 18, pl. IV) but it has no descendants. For the excrescent cup being a LMIIIB feature see Furumark MP, p. 70, n. 8
660. Perati III, pl. I77
661. Seiradaki, in BSA, 55 (1960), 12, fig. 7:6, pl. 4:a. Its predecessors are Delt. 4 (1918), 82, fig. 27:2 and 83, fig. 28. Delt. 6 (1920-21), 155, fig. 2, 161, fig. 12, the left one. Also, Bosanquet, BSA 24, Supplementary I, Palaikastro Excavations 1902-1906, p. 87, fig. 70
662. Dark Age, 42, fig. 11
663. MA XIV, (1904) col. 637-8, fig. 107, third row the third.
664. Effentérre, Mirabello, Et. Cret. VIII, pl. IX:057, p. 28
665. Ibid, D:7
666. Hall, Vrokastro, 103, Fig. 57:B
667. Brock, nos. 59 and 1429. A fragment of such a vase from Phaestos is illustrated in Ann. 31-32, 1969-70, p. 58, fig. 24
668. Fortetsa, p. 9, pl. 3:3. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 41, fig. 10
669. In similar fashion we have a P.Wh.P. one from Iapithos tomb

503. See Mrs. Pieridou in RDAC, 1972, p. 240:18 pl. XLII
670. Brock, pl. 11:189
671. PGP, 148, 150, pl. 21:C
672. E. Deilaki in AAA, 3 (1970), 183, fig. 9. The excavator regards the tomb as transitional from PG to Geometric but according to Coldstream's classification it cannot predate EGI if we are to judge from the vases of the tomb published. One could even regard the vase in question as Argive late EGII in the light of its decoration.
673. PM II, 215 fig. 121
674. Marinatos S., *Histerominoikos laxeftos tafos in Kartero, Kritis*, Delt. 11 (1927-8), p. 85. Karageorghis V., in RDAC, 1967, 20
675. Gjerstad, Pottery types in Op. Ath. 3 (1960), 116, Fig. 8:12, 13, 14, 15
676. Late Minoan vases and bronzes in Oxford in BSA, 63 (1968), 115, pl. 25:d
677. Xanthoudides S., in AE 1904, p. 27, fig. 6. For its dating see LMS, 27, 177.
678. Hall E., Vrokastro, 150, figs. 39F and G. For their dating see Desborough PGP, 265
679. Hall, Ibid, p. 126, fig. 75
680. Brock, p. 34:312, pl. 21; for its chronology, p. 143
681. Hood - Boardman, BSA, 56 (1961), p. 78, n. 16
682. Ibid, p. 73, fig. 7:14
683. Boyd H.A. in AJA, 5 (1901), pl. I, low row, pl. II, top one.
684. Mariani L., in AJA, 5 (1901), 312, fig. 8. Ann. VI-VII (1923-4),



- I95, fig. II8
685. SCE I, p. 229:42, pl. L, last row, fourth from right; also  
pl. I27:I0. Perati II, p. 248, fig. I06
686. Droop, in BSA, I2 (I905-6), p. 43, fig. 2I, second row the  
fourth, p. 45, fig. 22, last row the third.
687. Karageorghis, RDAC, I967, pl. II:I6, P.Wh.P. Daniel, AJA 4I  
(I937), pl. IV:57
688. Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant, pl. V:6, p. 20
689. The Khaniale Tekke Tombs in BSA, 49 (I954), p. 225:65, pl.  
24:65
690. GGP, 265
- 69I. CR III, p. I49, fig. I42
692. Cf. RDAC, I965, pls. VII:I, XI:65; SCE II, p. 640:I02, pl.  
89, fourth row the ninth.
693. CR III, p. 85, fig. 75. To the same Cypriot tradition belongs  
another flask from Rhodes of late 8th or early 7th cent. See  
CR VI - VII, pp. 44, 45, figs. 37,38.
694. SCE I, pl. 3I, tomb 6, third row.
695. Deltion Chr. 20 (I965), 52I, pl. 656
696. CR VII - VIII, p. 347, fig. 93; also p. 45, fig. 38
697. AM, I9I0, pl. V:2. Op. Ath. IV, pl. VIII:3647
698. Ker. I, pl. 62, inv. 536
699. Pieridou, in RDAC, I965 pl. XIII:I0
700. Ker. IV, taf. 25, inv. 2034. Smithson, in Hesp. 30 (I96I),  
I63:35, pl. 28 from N. Ionia. AA, I940, I79-I80, from Marathon.
- 70I. AR, I970-I, p. 7, fig. 8, low row.

702. Claude Vatin, *Medéon de Phocide*, p. 67, fig. 70
703. J. Vokatopoulou, in *Delt. Mel.* 24 (1969), 86, fig 1, pl.50c-d
704. W.A.Heurtley, *BSA*, 33 (1932-3), 48, figs. 24-25
705. Duemmler F., *Mittheilungen von den Griechischen Inseln.* IV  
Aelteste Nekropolen auf Cypem, in *AM*, 1886, 209 ff. Beil. III:  
1,2,6. El. and J. Stewart, *Vounous* 1937-38, in *Acta Instituti  
Romani Regni Sueciae* XIV, pls. LXXXI - LXXXV, LXXXIX:b. Kara-  
georghis, *Cyprus*, 78, ill. 37. SCE I, pl. CII:7. Pieridou A.,  
*Kypriaka Teletourgika Aggia*, *RDAC*, 1971, 18 ff., pls. VIII-XII
706. From Troy we have two more or less Bronze Age Kernoi.  
Schliemann, *Ilios*, 540, nos. IIIIO and IIIII
707. Nilsson M., *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, I37, figs. 46,47
708. *Ibid*, I35, fig. 44
709. Xanthoudides S., *Cretan Kernoi* in *BSA*, I2 (1905-6), 9 ff.  
Rolley Cl., in *BCH*, 89 (1965), 47I ff. with references.
710. Xanthoudides S., *BSA*, I2 (1905-6), I6, fig. 3, pp. 15,17,18
711. Nilsson M., *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, I38 n. 9
712. Cf. a "lekane" from Perati in *AJA*, 70 (1966), pl. 15:65.  
Article written by Prof. S. Iakovides on " A Mycenaean Mourning  
Custom " pp. 43-50. Also *Delt. Chr.* I9 (1964), 90-91, pl. 86:  
820. It is really surprising how this very custom is found on  
the Dipylon vases and it is practised in the villages of Cyprus  
where <sup>at</sup> ~~the~~ deaths of beloved family persons the women cut their  
hair very short.
713. *AJA*, 40 (1936), 312, fig. 10. *AM*, 76 (1961) Beil. 34:1
714. cf. Pieridou A., in *RDAC* 1971, pl. IX:1 of LC I.

715. Pieridou, Ibid, pl. IX:5,6,7. CVA Cyprus, Fas. 1, pls. 33,  
34. Fas. 2, pl. 34, pl. 32:7, with a bird and a jug. J-C Courtois,  
Alasia I, 234, fig. 77, p. 252, fig. 92
716. SCE I, 173 ff, nos. 6, 105. pl. XLI, left picture, fourth row;  
pl. CXXXIII:1, pl. CXXX:13. SCE IV:2, Fig. VII:12, Fig. XV:2.  
Pieridou, RDAC 1971, pl. X:6,7; pl. XI:1,2
717. Pieridou, in RDAC, 1965, 86:100, pl. X:7
718. SCE IV:2, Fig. XXIV:4
719. BCH, 95 (1971), 370, fig. 76
720. Samos V, taf. 47,48:28I; p. 86:XII:28I. AM, 76 (1961), Beil.34:2
721. AM, 74 (1959), 29, Beil 67. AM, 76 (1961), 52 ff. Beil. 24-  
33.
722. Ker. I, taf. 39. Ker. IV, taf. 36
723. Ker. VI, pl. I57, inv. II45
724. General article on Kernoi with references by Rolley, Claude,  
in BCH, 89 (1965), where he mentions these from Thasos.
725. Lindos I, 331-3, pl. 52:I202
726. Ibid, 332
727. SCE IV:2, Fig. V:8, Fig. XIV:1, Fig. XIX:I6
728. Duemmler F., AM, 1886, Beil. I:9. Johansen, Les Vases  
Sicyoniens, Roma 1966, 27. A very similar ring vase to the  
Cypriot Bronze Age one was recovered from Troy. Schliemann,  
Illos, 596 no. I392. The one shown by Blegen (Troy and the  
Trojans, pl. 27) with cut-away neck belongs to the second  
city thus it dates between 2500-2200 B.C. (ibid p. 174) It  
seems that Cyprus borrowed it from here.

729. CVA Cyprus, Fas. 1, pl. 34:5
730. Karageorghis, RDAC, 1967, 20, pl. II:19. Both types are known in the Mycenaean repertoire. See CVA Deutschland 27, Heidelberg (3), taf. 97:8,9. Delt. Chr. 21 (1966), pl. 230
731. AM, 78 (1963), 152:7, Beil. 54:2. Also Snodgrass, Dark Age, 47, fig. 15, lower row, middle one.
732. According to Dr. Karageorghis and Mrs Pieridou this vase is probably P.Wh.P. and not Wh.P.I
733. Ker. IV, taf. 25 inv. 2033
734. BCH, 90 (1966), 307, fig. 21. SCE IV:2, Fig. XIV:2
735. Johansen F., op. cit., 19:20 (A11)
736. Ibid, 33:54 (C8)
737. AE, 1947, 67, 69 no. II8
738. Ibid. All the early examples that he quotes are pilgrim flasks and as far as the shape existed in Cyprus in its ring-form type, we ought to accept it as the source for these vases.
739. Robertson M., in BSA, 43 (1948), 89-90, pl. 40:547. There is a "horizontal" ring vase with four feet and a slashing in the middle, and two tubular projections. Fragments of more were recovered. See also Benton S., Further excavations at Aetos, in BSA, 48 (1953), 329.
740. Ker. I, taf. 52, inv. 590. Ker. IV, taf. 34, inv. I265. Desborough, PGP, pl. I2. Another plate is known from Attica with loop-handles but single, not double. It is published in CVA, Mainz 1, pl. 2:4. The four sets of concentric semicircles, two on each side, are intersecting. It looks rather contemporary



with the plates found in the royal tomb of Salamis. See next foot-note.

741. AA, 1963, 126 ff.

742. For discussion on the revision of the chronology of these plates see comments of Desborough in AA, 1963, 205-6.

743. Ibid, 206

744. Bailey D.M., A village priest's tomb at Aradippou in Cyprus, in BMQ, XXXIV, no. 1-2, Autumn 1969, 36 ff. CVA, Gr. Britain, B.M. II Cc, pl. I4:21. SCE IV:2, Fig. XXXVII:I6

745. CVA, Gr. Britain, B.M. II Cc, pl. I4:11

746. Ker. V1, taf. I5:I5

747. BSA, 31, p. 29, n. 4, pl. VIII:I26

748. Hesp. 6 (1937), 367, fig. 30

749. GGP, II9

750. Deshayes, Ktima, 205, pl. 62:5-6. SCE I, tomb 4I7:80, pl. 50 last row the seventh from left. BCH, 94 (1970), 197, fig. 8:a-b etc.

751. SCE I, tomb 408:45, pl. 46, forth row, tenth from left. Also pl. I22:I2 third row, fifth from left.

752. MP, 75, fig. 2I, no. 322, p. 76

753. Johansen, Exochi, 68, Abb. I37. GGP, pl. 60:g

754. GGP, 5:g

755. Ibid, 270, n. 8

756. SCE II, I52, pl. XXXI, tomb no. 6 from Styloioi. Deshayes, Ktima, 206, pl. LXIII:I0, of type III

757. J. du P. Taylor, in IRAQ 21 (1959), p. 66

758. SCE I, 237 tomb 420:53, pl. CXXIII:10; also SCE IV:2, Fig.

I:4

759. SCE IV:2, Fig. X:15

760. BSA 31, 46 n. i. PGP, I46

761. BSA, 26, p. 15, Fig. 6a

762. PGP, II4

763. Jan Bouzek, The beginnings of the Protogeometric pottery and the "Dorian Ware" in Op. Ath. IX (1969) 52, n. 81, seems to speak only for Attica.

764. Karageorghis, An early XIth century B.C. tomb from Palaepaphos in RDAC, 1967, I7, pl. I

765. CVA Cyprus 2, pl. 40:6,7,8

766. CVA Cyprus 1, pl. 37:6,7

767. SCE IV:2, Fig. II:10,11

768. PM, III 134-6, Figs. 68-69

769. BSA, 55 (1960), pl. 3:d

770. Vrokastro, I52, fig. 92 and I64 fig. 99:D

771. L. Rocchetti, in Ann. (1969-70), 43, fig. 3a-b; p. 52; p.59, fig. 26

772. PGP, II4

773. Hood-Jong, A Late Minoan III "Kitchen" at Makritikhos (Knossos), in BSA, 53-54, (1958-59), I88:11 pls. 45c, 46e

774. SCE I, pl. CXX IV:1

775. Brock, pl. 3

776. Hood-Boardman, Early Iron Age tombs at Knossos, in BSA, 56 (1961), 69 ff., pl. 10:19

777. Pieridou, in RDAC, 1965, 93, pl. XI
778. BSA, (1899-1900), 83, fig. 25; 84 fig. 26 ( The pictures are bad and we cannot refer to them in detail ).
779. Hesp. 37 (1968), 98
780. SCE I, 191:147, pl. XLIII, last row, forth from right. SCE IV:2, Fig. XIII:3
781. There is an unpublished one with two tiers in the Cyp. Mus. no. 1967/II - I2/4
782. Op. Ath. IX (1969) 52:10
783. SCE II, pl. XXIII, second row, the last one. SCE IV:2, Fig. XVI:2
784. PGP, 224, pl. 30. Its context is remarkable because of the Mycenaean vases found with Protogeometric pottery imitating Attic prototypes.
785. Johansen, Exochi, 41:83 DI5
786. Archaeology, 25 (1972), 16
787. Vrokastro pl. XXXI, p. 127:3-4
788. El. and James Stewart, Vounous 1937-38, pl. LXIX:d, in Svenska Institutet i Rom, Skrifter I, 14. Further references see Johansen F., Exochi, p. 158, n. 309. Daniel J, in AJA, 41 (1937), 69:f
789. RDAC, 1967, 20:(7)
790. Ibid, 7:20-21 of P.Wh.P. SCE IV:2, Figs. V:13 of CGI, XIV:5 of CGII, XXVII:25,26 of CGIII.
791. Johansen, Exochi, 159, nos. 311,312; p. 15, p. 19, figs. 22-

792. Ibid, I58. Also in Les Vases Sicyoniens, Rome 1966, p. 42
793. Ibid, I9, Abb. 22,23, A I2
794. CVA Deutschland 24, pl. 5
795. Under the photograph is characterised as type II but on p. 299 (3), it is stated clearly that it is type III.
796. Another one, probably class III, in Deshayes, Ktima, pl. I7: 3, pl. 53:2I, pp. I34,I72,I92,24I
797. E. Brann, Agora VIII, 40. Hesp. 30 (1961), 348:G5. R. Young, Hesp. Suppl. II, 208
798. GGP, 59:36; 6I, pl. 11:e. Coldstream calls it one-piece oinochoe.
799. Gjerstad, Op. Ath. III, Fig. 9:I8,I9,20
800. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, pl. 3I
801. CVA Sèvres (I) II<sup>a</sup>Ca, pl. 7,23. Also Mrs Pieridou in RDAC, 1968, p. 2I, pl. VIII:1,2
802. See ref. in JdI, 79 (1964), IO, n. 24
803. ILN, 23 Dec. 1933, p. IO34. Idem in RDAC, 1968, pl. IX:1,2
804. Such examples are illustrated in RDAC, 1968, pl. VIII:8,9,IO, II.
805. Yon, Salamine II, 36-38, pl. 24 no. 74
806. For masks on vases see W. Schiering, Masken am Hals Kretisch-Mykenischer und Frühgriechischer Tongefässe in JdI, 79 (1964) iff.
807. BSA, 38 (1937-8), pl. 35:2,3. Also, Schiering, Ibid, p. 4, Abb. 5:a-b
808. Pieridou, RDAC, 1968, p. 24
809. Papapostolou, Delt. Mel. 23 (1968), 85



810. BICS, 16 (1969), 3, pl. II, a-c. Also, Papapostolou, *ibid*,  
pl. 39
811. See Coldstream, BICS, 16 (1969), p. 3
812. *Op. Cit.*, pls. 39-40
813. Johansen, *Exochi*, 159, Abb. 221-222
814. Schierring, *op. cit.*, p. 6, Abb. 8,9,10. Also, AM, 76 (1961),  
Beil. 15, K. 2154, K. 2074, k. 1753
815. It is in the "Kunst und Gewerbe Museum" in Hamburg. It is  
a miniature hydria 10 cm. high and it may be of class IV, although  
an earlier date is not excluded. It has ears, nose, eyes and  
chin modelled. Also E. von Mercklin in AA, 1928, 295, Abb. 20
816. Maximova, *Les Vases Plastiques dans l'Antiquité*, pl. IV:18a-b
817. W. Schierring, *JdI*, 79 (1964) 9, Abb. 13
818. Pieridou A., *Kypriaka Plastika Aggia* in RDAC, 1970, 93 with  
references.
819. BCH, 83 (1959), 473, fig. 13 second in the middle row. Delt.  
16 (1960), 257-8, pl. 226a
820. BSA, Annual Report of the Managing Committee for the session  
1946-47, pp. 28-29, fig. 4
821. AAA, 4 (1971), 215
822. *Ibid*, 215
823. Two more of EM III are in the Herakleion Museum. One is No.  
4142; The other one is in the Giamalakis collection consisting  
of three doves fixed together. (See Marinatos, *Hirmer, Crete  
and Mycenae*, Fig. 9.)
824. Buck R., *Middle Helladic Mattpainted Pottery*, in *Hesperia* 33

- (1964), 249 D1, pl. 4I:D1
825. Goldman H., Excavations at Eutresis, I60, fig. 223
826. JdI, 74 (1959), 62, Abb. 9a, 9b, 9c, p. 66, no. 6
827. Ibid, 62
828. Pieridou, RDAC, 1970, 92. SCE IV:2, 293-4
829. Pieridou, ibid, 92
830. Karageorghis V., Cyprus, Illustrations 37,38,39, p. 246
831. Karageorghis, Ibid, 233
832. Ibid, ill. 52. Grace V., A Cypriote tomb and Minoan Evidence for its Date, in AJA 44, (1940) 27. Catling-Karageorghis, Minoika in Cyprus, in BSA, 55 (1960), 109-110.
833. Gjerstad, Studies, 176. CVA USA, Fas. 4, pl. I, II C11
834. CVA Cyp. Mus. 1, pl. 34:1. It is dated in LC III.
835. Skrifter Utgivna Av Svenska Institutet I Rom (IX), Uppsala 1943, pp. 64-5. SCE IV:2, 294
836. References in Ergon, 1960, 191 and 1964, 79, fig. 93. Also E. Vermeule in AJA, 64 (1960), 12. Another one in CVA Deutschland Fas. 27, Heidelberg 3, taf. 95:8,9,10
837. BCH, 85 (1961), 275, fig. 27
838. Pieridou, RDAC, 1970, p. 92
839. Enkomi II, 732. Enkomi IIIa, pl. I37:2I
840. Vermeule E., AJA, 64 (1960) 11-12., pl. 4, Figs 30,31,32.
841. Desborough LMS, 14
842. RDAC, 1970, p. 93
843. See n. 839
844. Pieridou, RDAC, 1970, pl. XIII:1

845. Ibid, pl. XIII:2
846. Ibid, 99, pl. XV:2
847. Daniel, in AJA, 41 (1937), 71-72, pl. II: 50
848. Ibid, pl. V:58
849. Pieridou, RDAC, 1970, 93, pl. XIII:6,9 etc.
850. SCE IV:2, Fig. XXIV:7 Ibid, 95
851. Pieridou, RDAC, 1970, 95, pl. XVII, 3
852. Seiradaki, Pottery from Karphi, in BSA, 55 (1960), 27, fig.20,  
pl. 11b
853. Hall, Vrokastro, I52, Fig:92
854. PM II, I36, Fig. 69N.
855. Boyd H., Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, in 1900 in AJA, 5  
(1901), pl. 1
856. Brock J., Fortetsa, p. I2, pl. 5:50
857. Another one probably sub-Minoan is illustrated by E. Fabricius  
in AM, I886, p. I42, taf. III. It comes from Knossos.
858. Hogarth D., in BSA, 6 (1899-1900), 84, Fig. 26
859. PM II, I36 n. 4
860. PGP, 24I. Hutchinson R., Prehistoric Crete, Pelikan Books,  
1968, 326
861. Pieridou, RDAC, 1970, p. 93 and Karageorghis, Nouveaux  
Documents, I95-6, suggest the opposite.
862. AJA, 5 (1901), pl. I, second row, sixth from left. The same,  
Maximova, Les Vases Plastiques dans l' Antiquité, pl. X:39
863. Themelis P., Protogeometric Necropolis Near Lefkadi, in AAA  
2, (1969), I00 fig. 8 Dark Ages, 50, pl. 4D

864. CVA, Cyprus 2, Private collections, fig. 4:7  
865. Karageorghis, in RDAC, 1967, I5, fig. 10, pl. III  
866. Archaeology 25 (1972), I8  
867. M-O Richter, Kypros, pl. 98:6  
868. Paton W., Excavations in Caria, in JHS, 8 (1887), 74, fig. I9  
869. CR, vol. III, I49, fig. I42  
870. PGP, I66

871. Bollettino d' Arte, 35 (1960), 320, figs. 92,93. GGP, 268.

The nearest to them in lining is one in the Museum of Louvre.

See CVA France V, Louvre IICa, pl. 4:20. Not dated.

872. GGP, 264  
873. Delt. Chr., 20 (1965), 52I, pl. 655  
874. Kopcke G., Heraion von Samos; Die Kampagnen 1961-65 in  
Südtemenos, in AM, 83 (1968), 299:I50, taf. I29:1  
875. Willemsen F., Archaische Grabmalbasen in AM, 78 (1963), I5I-  
2, Beil.54:2  
876. Vermeule E., AJA, 64 (1960), 11, pl. 4, figs. 30,31,32  
877. Delt. Chr. 23 (1968), 55-56, pl. 3I  
878. Ker. I, 92, pl. 63 inv. 535  
879. Another bird vase referred to as Attic (RDAC, 1970, 95.  
Maximova, op.cit. pl. XI:43) may be Cycladic if we are to judge  
from the pale brown colour of the clay. It is also decorated  
with semicircles. Part of another one is also known from the  
Agora Museum; Agora P. 6498. Published in Hesp. Suppl. II,  
XII, I3; p. 62, fig. 40.  
880. Cf. Pieridou, RDAC, 1970, 93, pl. XIII:4-I0



881. Delt. 11 (1927-8), Parartima, p. 3, fig. 2c. From the accompanying vases we can date them c.750 B.C.
882. CVA Denmark 2, pl. 65:8. GGP, 267. The Phoenicians of Ialysos 2, n. 9
883. Brock, Fortetsa, p. 32 no. 270 and 277, pl. 20
884. Mariani L., The vases of Erganos and Courtes, in AJA, 5 (1901), 307-8, Fig. 1
885. Brock, Fortetsa p. 152
886. Ibid, p. 131 no. 1518, pl. 106
887. SCE IV:2 Fig. XV:6. Pieridou, RDAC, 1970, pl. XVI, 5
888. Fortetsa, p. 37, pl. 23
889. Ibid, p. 117, pl. 106
890. Ibid, p. 154
891. Ann. X-XII, pp. 91,200,302,385, figs. 65,221,402,496
892. Ake Akerström, op. cit., 64-65
893. BSA, 65 (1970) 21 ff.
894. Ibid, pl. 10:e
895. Ibid, 26,27. These wheel-made animals have a Mycenaean background emerging before the end of LHIIIB.
896. Cf. the hole on the abdomen of the Lefkandi centaur and the hole on the front part of the bicephalic monster from Enkomi of early IIth cent. B.C. J-C Courtois, in Alasia I, 299, fig. 127, b-c
897. P.V.C. Baur, Centaurs in Ancient Art, p.1. Idem, JHS, 1894, p. 344, fig. 69
898. K. Fittschen, Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagenarstellungen bei den Griechen, (1969); 92, n.469.

899. E. Buschor, Kentauren, in AJA, 38 (1934), 129, shares the same idea along with Dr. Karageorghis, (Notes on some Centaurs from Crete, in Kret. Chr. 19 (1965), 53).
900. L.W.King, Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets, (London 1912) pl. 29A. This monarch is also known as Meli - Shikhu; he reigned between 1188 - 1174 B.C. About him see Wiseman D.J., in CAH Fas. 4I, p. 5.
901. H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXXI:f. In periods after the 10th cent. it discarded the horse's body acquiring a lion's one. See pl. XXXIV:d, XXXVI:a.
902. One of the most well known is the scorpion-man monster. A late 12th century example is shown in J.B.Pritchard, The Ancient N. East in pictures, Fig. 519
903. R.A.Higgins, Greek Terracottas, 20, pl. 6:A-B
904. SCE II, 785. See also the first table after 812, pls. CCXXVII and CCXXVIII
905. SCE II, 823
906. Ibid, 821
907. PEQ, 1956, 29
908. To try to drag period 2 into the Bronze Age is an impossible task as nothing justifies such a solution. See BSA, 65 (1970), 30, n. 47. PEQ, 1956, table on p. 37
909. CVA France 5, Style IICb, pl. 7:13-14. Louvre Inv. AM 961
910. SCE IV:2, 76
911. It would be of particular interest if we were able to trace the object on the shoulder of the Lefkandi centaur and see if

it was a branch.

9I2. We have mentioned already that the eyes of the Cypriot centaurs are indicated with pellets. No. 2320 has no indication of eyes at all and only the two examples with horns give the impression that where the eyes should be, there are rather cavities. Are the centaurs supposed to wear bulls' masks? Such objects are seen on some of the clay figurines discovered in the sanctuary (SCE II, p. 823) and even though such a hypothesis is far from sure we cannot exclude it altogether.

9I3. K. Fittschen, op. cit. 88-I28, has gathered all the material known up to 1969.

9I4. Shear, Excavations at Corinth in 1931, in AJA 35 (1931), 425. Fig. 2. She calls the centaur Archaic even though she mentions that it was found next to the Geom. krater.

9I5. Fittschen, op. cit., p. 100, R. 48, no. 503. He dates it tentatively in the first half of the 7th cent. and regards the existence of horns on it as probable.

9I6. Delt. Chr. 1964, 60, pl. 55:a

9I7. Among its many illustrations are: E. Akurgal, The Birth of Greek Art, I7I, pl. 48. Schweitzer B, GGA, I50, pl. I85.

9I8. Klaus Fittschen, op. cit. 9I,92, does not believe in it.

9I9. K. Nicolaou, Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines in the Cyprus Museum, in Op. Ath. 5 (1965), 47 ff.

920. Karageorghis V., Scheseis, pl. 3I

921. BCH, 84 (1960), 277, Fig. 56:a-b. Idem, ibid, pl. 32:2

922. Ibid, 279. In the "Scheseis" however, he attributes it to

the Archaic period.

923. See chapter on vases with human faces.

924. SCE I, pl. XLIX:4,5. One is from tomb 4I5 and one from 4I9.

The former can also be early CGII.

925. SCE I, pl. LXVIII:3I, I8, 6, 44, 29, I6

926. Ibid, text, p. 370

927. AR, 1958, p. 27, Fig. 5

928. Karageorghis, BCH, 83 (1959), 339-340, Fig. 4. Afterwards in Cyprus, Fig. IOI he wants it early Iron Age while in the "Scheseis" pl. 32:1, he dates it in the end of the Geometric period.

929. SCE II, pl. CLXXXII:I4, text, p. 567, no. I428

930. Ibid, pp. 604, 624. The figurine was in period IV which cannot have fixed chronological boundaries. It could be pushed back into CGII.

931. AJA, 72 (1968), 37I, pl. I24: Fig. I5

932. BCH, 90 (1966), 3I4, Fig. 40

933. Dr. Karageorghis, in " Scheseis " I8I, pl. 33 wants it CA.  
BCH, 90 (1966), 3I4, fig. 39

934. See chapter on centaurs. (SCE II, p. 777 style I, first table after p. 8I2)

935. Karageorghis, " Scheseis " I8I. Salamine II, 38

936. AR, 1958, p. 28. The same view is held by Dr. Alexiou. The Minoan Goddess with up-raised arms, p. 288

937. BSA, 55 (1960), pl. I4

938. From Enkomi — Enkomi IIIa, pl. I70, nos. 2 (II72), 3 (253)  
etc. Also, Alasia I, 326 ff, figs I4I-I54 — we have many late



12th early 11th cent. terracotta figurines which are connected with the Mycenaean type "Ψ" figurines. It seems that we cannot dissociate them completely from the 11th cent. and later Cypriot examples. In fact, the latter may owe their miniature size to the former.

939. Levi, Ann. 33,34 (1955-6), p. 241
940. R.A.Higgins, Greek Terracottas, I7, fig. 10, pl. 6:C
941. PM II, I29, fig. 63
942. Hall, Vrokastro, I21, fig. 71
943. BCH, 90 (1966), 314, fig. 39
944. Cretan Collection, 89,92, pl. XXX:382
945. Ibid, n. 2
946. Frühe Tonfiguren aus dem Heraion von Samos I, in AM, 65 (1940), 57 ff. See also, Klaus Vierneisel, Neue Tonfiguren aus dem Heraion von Samos, in AM, 76 (1961), 34
947. Ohly, ibid, 61, pl. 35:I084. G. Schmidt, in Samos VII, 7, 93 ff. Of late 8th cent. Cypriot influence on Samos we have also Higgins' statement; op. cit. I8
948. Schmidt, ibid
949. Lindos, pl. 87:I958
950. RDAC, 1972, I43 ff., pl. 26. Older ones are in the Cyprus Museum, like Christon, Ibid, p. I46, fig. 5
951. J. Bouzek, in Homerisches Griechenland, p. II5, n. 45, p.II7, Abb. 45, along with others, expresses the view that the Attic idols are connected with the north. Snodgrass hesitates to accept their northern origin (Dark Age, p. 329) and believes

more in a Greek lineage.

952. For references see Hesp. 30 (1961), pl. 30:54, p. 172

953. Gjerstad, SCE IV:2, 332-335 discusses the material from Samos.

It seems that more figurines of the same type were recovered  
but I was not able to see them.

954. BCH, 94 (1970), Naïskoi de Chypre, 27 ff.

955. Chourmouziades, in AAA, 36 ff; example from Thessaly.

956. Sackett-Popham in BSA, 60 (1965), 294, fig. 14:28

957. PM II, 129 ff, figs. 63,65. Ample specimens come from Karphi  
in BSA, 55 (1960), pl. 10

958. Ibid, 130, n. 2:a,b,c. Also in Tarquinia, Villanovans and  
Early Etruscans by H. Hencken 464 fig. 463,

959. Hencken, ibid, fig. 463;c of the later 4th millennium.

Schaeffer, Ugaritica II, pl. XXX of the 15th cent. B.C.

960. SCE IV:2, 171, fig. 37:31,32

961. Dikaios, Guide to the Cyprus Museum, 1961, 205, no. 54 dated  
it in the 7th, 6th cent.

962. RDAC, 1971, 40

963. RDAC, 1971, 40, fig. 5. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 193, fig. 70

964. RDAC, 1971, 40

965. On the famous open-air shrine from Vounous, Cyprus, which is  
very much a sacred enclosure and dating from the Early Bronze  
Age, we have a figure scaling the wall to look at what goes on  
inside. The time poses insurmountable difficulty if we try to  
connect it with the Nicosia naiskos.

966. SCE IV:2, 171, fig. 37:29,30

967. M.P.Nilsson, *Minoan - Mycenaean Religion*, 8I, fig. 14
968. SCE IV:2, 23. Dikaios P., *A conspectus of Architecture in Ancient Cyprus* in KS, 24 (1960), 14.
969. SCE III, 18, fig. 16:1
970. Ibid, 68, Area K2
971. Mention of Middle Geometric walls at Bamboula is made by Benson in RDAC, 1969, 28, Area F, Stratum C. In earlier publications some remains of period 3-4 are assigned to the Geometric period. See Sjöqvist, *Problems*, 132 f., n. 4
972. SCE IV:2, 29 ff. The first excellent monograph on the subject was published by A. Westholm in *Op. Arch.* II (1939), 29 ff.
973. Ibid, 32
974. Karageorghis, NS I, 94
975. Ibid, 53
976. Ibid, 28
977. Ibid, 117 ff. Karageorghis V., *Europa*, 1967, 167 ff, pls.XV-XVIII
978. SCE IV:2, 238
979. Salamine II. La Tombe T.I, by M. Yon.
980. Karageorghis, RDAC, 1967, 1 ff.
981. MacFadden, *A Late Cypriote III tomb from Kourion, Kaloriziki* No. 40, in *AJA*, 58 (1954), 135 ff.
982. Snodgrass A, *Dark Age*, the table on pages 134-5.
983. Ibid, 148 and 164 respectively.
984. Karageorghis NS I, 119, n. 6. BCH, 91 (1967), 234, fig. 20:

985. Schefold K., Architecture of Eretria, in Archaeology, 21 (1968) 272 ff, describes methods of cremation in the IG which are similar to those from Salamis.
986. They exist in Egypt and Asia Minor from the Middle Bronze Age but this does not justify influence from there. See Anáronikos M., Totenkult, 86
987. Hill G., History of Cyprus, 64 n. 2. SCE IV:2, 433
988. SCE I, 218 tomb 412, 228 tomb 417, 236 tomb 420
989. Karageorghis V., NS I, 9. Two interments took place in the tomb, one in the very end of CG III and one in the very end of CA I. See also p. 24
990. Iliad, XXIII, verses 175-7
991. In the final publication it is not stated clearly to how many people the dispersed bones belong; one or two? Karageorghis NS I, p. 9. If the bones were really dispersed by the plough, I do not think we could ascribe them to any particular burial of the chamber.
992. Totenkult, 119. n. 1000. The tomb dates from CG I - II.
993. Such tombs are known at Crete and Perati, Snodgrass, Dark Age, 164.
994. GGP, 21,27,28
995. Ibid, 38,39
996. BCH, 91 (1967), 313, fig. 101a - b
997. BCH, 88 (1964), 298; an archer aims at a horse led by a warrior.
998. SCE IV:2, 64



999. Ibid, 308, fig. 43
1000. The IG 8-shaped shield is generally thought to be either an older Bronze Age survival or else not a real-life<sup>object</sup> at all (Snodgrass EGA, 58 ff. ) Here, we do not examine this problem but we are concerned with the first representations of such shields in IG Attica, the region from where the Cypriots became aware of their existence. ( An early IIth cent. example is shown on a P.Wh.P. pyxis-pl.-I6b- but it seems that at least in Cyprus they were out of circulation in the 8th cent. despite the presence of a figurine with a very slightly recessed shield not easily comparable to the painted Attic ones with their big lateral projections and gaping arcs. ) The first representations on vases imported into Cyprus were misinterpreted just because the Cypriot potter was not familiar with them.
1001. GGP, 99,56
1002. Ibid, pl. 5:e
1003. The careless ribbing is a sign of lateness. SCE IV:2, table on p. 190 refers to Black-Slip III examples of CGIIIB but no examples of CGIIIA seem to exist.
1004. GGP, 24
1005. SCE IV:2, pp. 55,308, Fig. 21:10
1006. J. Boardman, The Multiple Brush, Antiquity, 34 (1960), 85 ff.
1007. RDAC, 1937-9, 134
1008. Treasures in the Cyprus Museum, 17
1009. Ibid. Also BSA, 37 (1936-7), 56 ff., with full discussion of the amphora and its connexions.

- IOIO. Der Orient und die Frühgriechische Kunst, 36
- IOII. Kretische Bronzereliefs, 212 ff.
- IOI2. Even earlier ritual of dancing, although not of the same type, is shown by a group of figurines from the chamber tomb of Kamilari, Mesara, having among them horns of consecration, which may argue that the dance has religious connexions. See K. Branigan, The Tombs of Mesara, pl. I4
- IOI3. Marinatos, Hirmer, Crete and Mycenae, fig. I32, LM III
- IOI4. G. Ahlberg, in Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art, I75 ff. and 263 mentions the vases with such scenes. Among the types of dances that she distinguishes, the one referred to here, is her Male dance type b with clasped hands.
- IOI5. On the Attic example quoted we cannot see lyre-player but there are others where he is shown.
- IOI6. Salamis, p. 34, pl. 3. " Scheseis ", I83-4
- IOI7. Furumark, Op. Arch. III (1944), 25I, fig. I4:J,2
- IOI8. BCH, 94 (1970), 3II ff.
- IOI9. BCH, 84 (1960), 577, fig. I29
- IO20. Payne, BSA, 29 (1927-8), 279 ff. n. 1 with discussion. Brock, Fortetsa, I88-9. Doro Levi, Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete, 6-7, in Hesp. I4 (1945).
- IO2I. GGP, 244, n. IO. Fortetsa, Patterns I7k,l,r,m
- IO22. GGP, 248
- IO23. Ovoid body and concave neck suggest this date. See BCH, 89 (1965), 24I, fig. I3, inv. I964/XII - I9/1
- IO24. Payne, BSA, 29 (1927-8), 289-290

- IO25. GGP, pl. 35. They are more sophisticated.
- IO26. SCE IV:2, Fig. XVIII:I5; XX:1,3; XXXII:2,I4 etc.
- IO27. Payne, BSA, 29 (1927-8), 294-5
- IO28. A. Pieridou, " O Zografikes rythmos tis Proimou Kyprogeo-  
metrikis Periodou " in KS, 3I (1967), 62-64
- IO29. Boardman, BSA, 55 (1960), I45, pl. 33 from Ayios Ioannis  
near Knossos. Brock, Fortetsa, pls. 34:430; I43:288
- IO30. Brock, pl. I44:339. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 83, fig 4I
- IO3I. Pieridou, RDAC, 1964, p. I18, tomb 1. SCE IV:2, Fig. XVIII:  
I4
- IO32. CGA, 54I-544
- IO33. Ibid, 54I
- IO34. SCE IV:2, Fig. 22:I5,I7 etc.

WEAPONS AND VARIOUS OTHER METAL OBJECTS

1. EGA, II5 ff.
2. RDAC, 1965, 62, fig. I7, 63, fig. I8; blades' section rhomboidal; date CGI
3. See chapter on kylikes
4. EGA, I20:C1,C2. II7, fig. 7:c. The tomb - group in which the spearhead was present contained also parts of a fibula of much later date so we must have certain reservations about its chronology.
5. EGA, I2I, D3. Date CGII - CAI
6. Ibid, I20
7. Ibid. SCE I, 353, pl. 65, no. 42. Dr. Snodgrass holds the same view now. (Verbal discussion with him).
8. Blegen, Prosymna, 339, fig. 608
9. CBMW, I23:(1)
10. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 224
11. EGA, I2I,I35
12. EGA, I22
13. Ibid
14. Ibid
15. Ibid, I3I
16. Catling's type d — CBMW, II9, I20 — especially nos. 1 and 2 pl. I3:g,h, excellent advocates as forerunners.
17. Coldstream, in BSA 58 (1963), 38, fig. 9, pl. 11a. The forepart of it is missing.
18. Snodgrass, EGA, I26, type L. Dark Age, 266, fig.94. The left one is very near the Cypriot series. The right one is clearly



Cretan.

19. The first who so christened it was Colonna-Ceccaldi.
20. Literary evidence assembled by G. Colonna Ceccaldi in *Monuments Antiques de Chypre, de Syrie et d' Egypte*, (Paris 1882), II6 ff.
21. Book V, ch. 9
22. LAAA, III (1910), 107-8
23. See chapter on firedogs
24. No distinction was made between javelins and spears throughout the chapter.
25. BCH, 94 (1970), 44. RDAC, (1972), Two built tombs at Patriki, Cyprus, 171-2
26. Fortetsa 202:5
27. Ibid. Also Snodgrass, *Dark Age*, 331-2. Desborough, *Dark Ages*, 231, 311. Dr. Karageorghis, RDAC, (1972) 180, expresses some doubts about this suggestion.
28. EGA, 138
29. EGA, 112
30. Ibid, 94
31. Ibid, 94:1; 95, fig. 5:a
32. Problems, 125
33. BCH, 91 (1967), 212 no. 46, figs. 21, 24, 25
34. See chapter on Kraters, class 2b
35. BCH, 91 (1967), 242
36. One from Lefkandi, Tumba tomb 14, Desborough, *Dark Ages*, 194, pl. 44 has similar hilt but it is not said whether it is of iron

- or bronze.
37. BSA, 38 (1937-8), II7, pl. 29:500
  38. Snodgrass, EGA, 94 ff. for references.
  39. EGA, 98
  40. Catling, A New Bronze Sword from Cyprus, in *Antiquity*, 35 (1961), II5 ff.
  41. AJA 5 (1901), I37, fig. 4
  42. Ker. I, I06, fig. 8
  43. CR VIII I65, fig. I52 second from left.
  44. EGA, 98 n. I3
  45. Lorimer, HM, 268. Desborough, *Dark Ages*, 310, fig. 39:B; Fig. 39:A is also regarded probable Cypriot import.
  46. There is some new evidence which fills in this "gap" to some extent, e.g. the swords from ancient Elis and from Epirus. See AE I956, II4 ff. Ergon I963, p. I2I
  47. EGA, 37 ff.
  48. Andronikos in "Vergina I", says that all may be belt-accessories. Kimming in "Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission," 5I -2 (I970-I), I47 ff., says all may be horse's bridle-ornaments.
  49. CBMW, I42 ff. AJA, 58 (I954), I40 f., pl. 25, f. 33
  50. AE (I904) p. 46, fig. 11
  51. *Dark Age*, 224. Desborough, *Dark Ages*, I42
  52. SCE IV:2, 376,7
  53. SCE II, II7-8, pl. XXIV, nos. 35,5I
  54. SCE II, I07, pl. XXIV, no. 53
  55. Ker. IV, pl. 37, inv. M I2, M I3

56. All known examples are listed by Snodgrass, EGA, 39 - 41.
57. SCE IV:2, I39, fig. 23:30. EGA, pl. 24
58. BCH, 87 (1963), 27I, fig. 11
59. HM, I69. EGA, 55
60. EGA, 55, n. 67
61. Ibid 55. JdI, 77 (1962), Müller - Karpe, Abb. 37-38, J. Bouzek in , Germania, 46 (1968), 3I3-6, discusses the material from Europe of the Herzsprung shield and finds it more <sup>likely</sup> ~~probable~~ to originate there.
62. Snodgrass EGA, 56,57, n. 75
63. Karageorghis, NSI, tomb 3, p. 36, no. 25, p. 46, pls. XLIV, CXXIX
64. Karageorghis, NS II, tomb I3, p. 29, no. 4I, pls. B:5, LXXIV
65. Ibid, tomb IO, p. I8, no. I8a, p. 23, pl. LXVII
66. Brock, tomb P, pp. I22-3 and I25, nos. I4I4 and I439, pl. IO7  
The ~~second~~ example with a lion's head.
67. Ibid, pp. I25, I64:F
68. Cretan Collection, 83-84
69. For a discussion on the protome-shield see Snodgrass, EGA, 52
70. B. Piotrovskii, Urartu, 14, fig.2
71. EGA, I54
72. Ibid
73. Ibid, n. 52, p. 254
74. KKarageorghis, BCH, 9I (1967), 234, fig. 20:45; 239, fig. 24
75. D. Christou, RDAC I972, p. I54, pl. 26
76. V. Karageorghis, NSI, pl. CXIV:54,55; CXXVIII:I50, I5I; CXLI.

- BCH, 87 (1963), 279, Fig. 20:a-b. BCH, 91 (1967), 236, Fig. 21:49,51. Dikaïos in AA, 1963, 150, Fig. 17
77. Carl Blegen, Hesp. 21 (1952) 287 nos. 8-9. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 235; EGA, 163-4. GGP, 11
78. Athens and East Halstatt Region: Cultural Interrelations at the Dawn of the Iron Age, in AJA, 65 (1961), 283
79. Joseph Wiesner, Fahren und Reiten in Arch. Homerica, F, 57 Abb. I4:a
80. SCE IV:2, 147, Fig. 26:30; for a discussion see p. 399
81. J. Wiesner, see n. 79, abb. I4:b
82. Alt Anatolien, nos. 600 and 905
83. Ancient Greek Horsemanship, 67, pls. 3,4
84. For references see ibid, 164-5. Also Jantjen, Samos VIII, taf. 53,54
85. Phoenicia according to Snodgrass; EGA, 164, North Syria according to Jantzen; Samos VIII, 59 ff.
- NSI, 87, pls. 82, I39; tomb 47
- From Tamassos. M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Kypros, pl. LXX, I-2,7
- From Palaepaphos. Karageorghis, BCH, 87 (1963), 272, fig. 9
- From Salamis. NSI, 21, pls. XIV, etc.
- SCE IV:2, 399, 417
- Lindos I, pl. 24:6I4,6I5. Miniature ones in silver on pl. 63:567
- NSI, 87, pls. 82, I39
- Catling CBMW, 103 (b)(c), pl. 11:d,e
- Hood, Huxley-Sandars in BSA, 53-54 (1958-9) 234, 248, fig. 32



tomb VII:I2, fig. 10,13

93. Perati I, p. 18, M 75; p. 283, M 85, Perati II. 341 ff. Perati III:pls. 3,82
94. Iakovides, Perati II, 348, wants them 12<sup>th</sup> cent. and he quotes some more examples from Kamini-Naxos and Lefkandi, but for Naxos there is no reference for bronze rivets. See Delt. Chr. 1960, 250
95. One from Salamis, Cyprus — M. Yon, Salamine II, 18, pls. 15, 18, no 36 — has narrower haft than the blade, a feature found also on the Aegean examples, and the curvature at the junction of haft and blade is similar but the blade itself of the Salaminian knife is longer with a pronounced curve. A similarity in some details exists between the specimens from Gypsades, Perati and Salamis and as the last one is dated c.1050 B.C. or a quarter of a century earlier they may be regarded as contemporary. A second specimen from Salamis — ibid no. 37 — is very badly corroded.
96. LMS, 25,26,61. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 219
97. The bronze rivets on iron knives were used in 12th cent. Cyprus. See Schaeffer, Missions en Chypre, 82, 137 n. 13, tomb 6. Dikaïos Enkomi I, 302, pl. 172:5; it was found in level III C ( 1125 - 1075 ) and its blade was straight. From Ker. tomb B of c.1050 we have an iron dagger with bronze rivets, an additional evidence of Cypriot influence.
98. Desborough, Dark Ages, 308
99. Snodgrass, Dark Age 213 ff.
100. Ibid, 219. Desborough, LMS, 61

- IOI. Desborough, *ibid*
- IO2. M. Yon, *Salamine II*, I9, n. 4,5,6
- IO3. Snodgrass, *Dark Age*, 2I7, suggests the I2th cent. for the knives from Lefkandi, Perati and Gypsades - Knossos.
- IO4. Snodgrass, *Dark Age*, 226-227. All the types of pins were distinguished according to his scheme.
- IO5. *Ibid*
- IO6. *Ibid*, 227
- IO7. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 2
- IO8. CBMW, 238. SCE IV:2, fig. 25:3I. The sole Geometric example is CG III
- IO9. CBMW, *ibid*
- II0. Snodgrass, *Dark Age*, 227. Desborough, *Dark Ages*, 295, fig. 32:A, 297
- III. Snodgrass, *ibid*, 243. Delt. 5 (I9I9), II7, Fig. 32, the top one.
- II2. Snodgrass, *ibid*, 236
- II3. The Cypriot example of CG III date is separated from the other LC material <sup>by</sup> ~~for~~ something like three centuries. The pin from Halos is nearly two hundred years younger than the other Greek material. My inclination is that both are older survivals.
- II4. Snodgrass, *Dark Age*, 229, 22I. Desborough, *Dark Ages*, 298  
Daniel, *AJA* 4I (I937), 80:1
- II5. Snodgrass, Desborough, *ibid*
- II6. BSA, 63 (I968), pl. 54, from Ayios Ioannis near Knossos.
- II7. For discussion, see Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, I60 ff.

- II8. CBMW, 239, is of the opinion that there is connexion and Greece influences Cyprus.
- II9. Catling *ibid*
- I20. SCE I. I97 nos. I5b, I7b; 200 no, IOI. Only SCE IV:2, fig. 25:28 which is no. IOI may be a vase.
- I2I. Ker. I, taf. 76
- I22. Catling, CBMW, 246. Birmingham in PEQ, 1963, 80
- I23. Chronology, 9I, I:IO. PEQ, 1963, 83, fig. 2; 8I, fig. 1
- I24. Chronology, 9I, II:7,5. CBMW, 242, type B. His first two examples may not belong here. PEQ, 1963, 93, fig. 6:a,b,c. Here also the last one may be dissociated.
- I25. CBMW, 243
- I26. Mrs. Birmingham in PEQ, 1963, 85 accepts II00 B.C. for its beginning. This is due to the fact that she regards one from Enkomi, *ibid*, 86, fig. 3a, as of this type but I think we could attribute it to the simple arched type.
- I27. CBMW, 243,4
- I28. Two more, one from Theotokou in Thessaly and one from Cos may be added. See PGP, 308
- I29. CBMW, 244, n. 4. PEQ, 1963, 88. More published by Mrs Pieridou in RDAC, 1965, nos. 54 and I70a. I am not convinced about the shape of nos. 272,297 and 298, pl. XV:I7,I9, as they are fragmentary.
- I30. Styrenius, SS , 29
- I3I. Birmingham's view, PEQ, 1963, 90, that the influence is the other way round due to actual imports does not find us in agreement.

132. SCE IV:2, 215, type 2b.
133. CBMW, 245. PEQ, 1963, 92 SCE IV:2, 215, type 2a. The earliest is perhaps SCEI, 231:99, pl. LI from Lapithos, tomb 417 of CGI date not referred to by Catling. Some of Birmingham's references suit the next type. Additional evidence supporting the emergence of the type in CGI is supplemented from tomb III at Kythrea, excavated by Mr. K. Nicolaou. One is complete, one has the pin missing and a third one has the tip missing. They were associated with type I pottery; see RDAC, 1965, 70, nos. 112,3,4, pl. VIII:10,16,17. Two more examples come from Lapithos tomb P.74 published by Mrs. A. Pieridou. One has slender members, the other thickened. They are small objects measuring 4 and 3.5 cm. in length. They belong to CGII burials. (See RDAC, 1965, pl. XV:14,15, p. 76.)
134. SCE I, 272, pl. LIX. It still has some time to go to reach the true form.
135. SCE IV:2, 215, type 2c.
136. Amathus tomb 18:34, SCE II, 107, pl. XXIV.
137. PEQ, 1963, 98. Here, we shall add a small one from Fortetsa (pl. 167:1106) with double spring and only three beads on the bow. PGB.
138. SCE IV:2, 215, type 3b; 145, fig. 25.
139. PEQ, 1963, 101.
140. Karageorghis, BCH, 87 (1963), 275, fig. 14.
141. Ibid, 290, n. 5,6,7. SCE IV:2, 384, fig. 69.
142. For its function see S. Piggett, Firedogs in Iron Age Britain



and Beyond, 245,f. in *The European Community in Later Prehistory, Studies in honour of C.F.C Hawkes.*

- I43. A third pair of firedogs with obeloi turned up recently from a thoroughly looted tomb at Patriki, Famagusta, Cyprus. They are very badly corroded and because of this, parts of them are missing. What survives is clear enough to show that they are similar to the other four pairs from Cyprus and the Aegean. (See BCH, 95 (1971), 402, fig. II3. Final publication in RDAC 1972, pp. 169-170, fig. I2) The objects found in the chamber and the dromos of the tomb dated it in the advanced CAII, in other words after 650 B.C.
- I44. BCH, 91 (1967), 343, fig. I48. Also Salamis, 91, pls. 51, 52
- I45. BCH, 87 (1963), 277 ff., figs. 17-19
- I46. See Chronological framework.
- I47. Courbin P., BCH, 81 (1957), 322 ff. GGP, 131-2
- I48. Snodgrass A., *Dark Age*, 272
- I49. Ship firedogs and other metalwork from Kavousi, in *Kret. Chr.* 23, (1971), 5 ff.
- I50. Snodgrass, *Dark Age*, 53 fig. 21
- I51. *Ibid*, 432
- I52. Karageorghis, *Delt. Chr.* 22 (1967), 548 is of the same opinion. Dr. Snodgrass, in *The European Community in Later Prehistory, Studies in honour of C.F.C. Hawkes*, p. 45, expresses the view that the Argive firedogs, remain, by a narrow margin, the earliest metallic ones known from Europe.
- I53. Piggott, *op. cit.* 262

- I54. Ibid, 262, n. 86, view expressed by Drost. Gerda Bruns, Arch. Homeric Q, Küchenwesen und Mahlzeiten, 31, says that we have 9th cent. firedogs with clay-supports from Faenza. I have not seen these examples but I think it doubtful that they have any immediate connexion with the 7th century ones.
- I55. For their possible numismatic value see Mantó Karamesini - Oikonomidou, in AAA, 2 (1969), 436
- I56. BCH, 81 (1957), 370 ff.
- I57. BCH, 83 (1959), 241 ff.
- I58. Boardman, Kret. Chr. 23 (1971), 7
- I59. SCE IV:2, 149, fig. 27:I6,I7,I8 with references. Karageorghis in BCH, 91 (1967), 287, fig. 26a,b
- I60. Hamdy Bey - Reinach, Une nécropole royale à Sidon (1892), pp. 89-90, Abb. 35 etc.
- I61. Lindos I, 207, pl. 27:67I
- I62. AM, 83 (1968), 293:I34, taf. I26:2
- I63. Gjerstad believes in Oriental origin, (SCE IV:2, 399), while Ohniefalsch - Richter, (Kypros, Bible and Homer, p. 179, n. 4, pl. XLIII) regarded their origin as Eypriot. For discussions about them see in Arch. Homeric P, Hausrat, pp. 93 - 94 by S. Iaser. W. Culican in the Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology, p. 69, n. 94 sees them as definitely Phoenician.
- I64. Ekrem Akurgal, The Birth of Greek Art, 97, fig. 5I
- I65. Ibid, 90
- I66. Jantzen quotes prototypes for the Cypriot candelabra from Urartu-Toprakkale in Samos VIII, p. 46 n. II4

- I67. In tomb 79 from Salamis we have three which belong to a very late CGIII burial. ( Karageorghis V., Salamis, 96, fig. 43.) They have one, two and three super-imposed rows of foliage respectively. The last one is well preserved, 31 cm. in height and if we accept the view that most of the furniture were in an oriental, possibly Phoenician style, it could be argued that this candelabrum was also a Phoenician import being in a material alien to the island. This assumption, however, is hampered by the mere fact that till now, all the known Phoenician candelabra are of later date.
- I68. Catling, CBMW, I47, fig. I7:1-6
- I69. SCE I, pl. LXXXVII. SCE IV:2, I67, Fig. 36:28; text p. I69.  
Catling, *ibid*, I47, n. 1
- I70. Catling, *ibid*, I47, n. 1
- I71. An extensive monograph was written by E. Gjerstad in *Op. Arch.* IV (1946), 1 ff. The Cypriot plain bowls were very much influenced by the decorated oriental ones.
- I72. Catling, *ibid*, I81, form 25
- I73. Ker. IV, taf. 38, Inv. M1
- I74. Ker. V1, taf. I63
- I75. SCE I, pl. XLIX:I9,38, from Lapithos tomb 4I3. Amathus tomb 7 ( SCE II, pl. VIII:256; nos. II6, 242 are of the succeeding period ). For more references see CBMW, I48 n. 9,10,II,I2.  
The diam. of the Cypriot examples is usually between 10 to 16 cm. so, their size also is very close to the Attic and Cretan ones, which, I think, are made after Cypriot prototypes.

- I76. Ker. IV, 29
- I77. Broek, 200:D(c)
- I78. AA, 1963, I46, fig. I4
- I79. See chronological framework.
- I80. Karageorghis, BCH, 9I (1967), 234, fig. 20:43; 238
- I81. See chapter on kraters.
- I82. Karageorghis, BCH, 9I (1967), 236
- I83. SCE IV:2, I53, fig. 29:1
- I84. Ker. VI taf. I64
- I85. GGP, 46,47,84
- I86. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 270, regards it as MG, his authorities for this being Kübler himself in Ker. VI taf. I64 and R. Hachmann in Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeiger Z I5 (1963), 6I
- I87. Ker. VI, 258
- I88. Ant. K. 1966, I2I, pl. 27. They were between 22 and 40 cm. in diam.
- I89. Ibid, I22
- I90. Ibid, I22,3
- I91. Doro Levi, Ann. X - XII, I28, fig. IIO; 474, fig. 590
- I92. Andronikos, Totenkult, in Arch. Homerica W, 73, n. 565, W 75, Abb. 5:d
- I93. Greek pins 47 ff.
- I94. Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion, 68
- I95. For references see Jacobsthal, ibid, 47. One more from Olympia in Delt. Chr. I9 (1964), pl. I7I:b. BCH, 90 (1966), 8I8, fig. IO7. Boardman, Greek Emporio, 224, n. 3



- I96. SCE II, p. 8I no. 8, p. 83. In Cyprus they are found only on handles of hemispherical bowls.
- I97. SCE II, p. I18
- I98. SCE IV:2, I5I, fig. 28:8a; 2I7,8
- I99. SCE IV:2, Fig. XLIII:20, type IV. Karageorghis, in BCH, 95 (I97I), 380, Fig. 85 of type III. A bronze example of unknown provenance was recently acquired by the Cyprus Museum. It is illustrated in BCH, 95 (I97I), 35I, fig. 24
200. Akurgal's view ( The Birth of Greek Art. 200,20I, fig. I47 ) that they were invented in Syria is not based on sound ground.
- 20I. Akurgal, ibid, 200, figs. I42-4. Ker. VI, 2, taf. 45 - 46
202. Doro Levi, Ann. X - XII, (I927-9) 473, fig. 590a
203. Boardman, Kret. Chr. 23 (I97I), 6, pls. A:7, B:8
204. Oriental Origin of Siren Cauldron Attachments in Hesp. 3I (I962), 327
205. For an effort to date the Greek bull-attachments see Hans - Volkmar Hermann in the " Olympische Forschungen ", Band VI, I29-I30
206. SCE II, 624, 540, no. 290
207. CBMW, I54-5
208. BCH, 92 (I968), 276, Fig. 30:a-b
209. Even the pair of handles with the bulls'heads from the problematical Mouliana tomb A is not made in the same fashion. See AE (I904), 30 f, fig. 7
- 2IO. SCE II, 624
- 2II. The bull-attachments were discussed by many scholars. For

- references see Catling, CBMW, 154, n.6.
212. Karageorghis, Salamis, pl. 1, pp. 65,89,90,91, fig. 27. It is not a detailed description as the tomb's final publication has not appeared yet.
213. O.W. Muscarella, in Hesp. 31 (1962), 321, n.21, where he mentions Amandry's view.
214. The Birth of Greek Art, 185. Useful article on the griffins is "The Development of the Lion-Griffin" in AJA, 64 (1960) 319 ff. by Bernard Goldman.
215. Akurgal, ibid 103, figs. 63,64,65.
216. Iraq, 18 (1956), p. 152, figs. 1-2, K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan tombs.
217. Op. Arch. IV (1946), 1 ff.
218. Karageorghis V., Nouvelles Tombes de Guerriers a Palaepaphos, in BCH, 91 (1967), 240, fig. 25:53.
219. Karageorghis, NSI, 19-20, pl. CXII,, CXIII. Its height is 3.8 cm. and its diam. 14.5.
220. Op. Arch. IV (1946) 1 ff. Probable connexions of Greece and Cyprus in p. 18 n. 2, 3.
221. Ker. VI, 201 ff. R.V. Nicholls in AR, 1970-1, p. 74. Snodgrass Dark Age, 115-6. Hans-Volkmar Hermann, Urartu und Griechenland in JdI, 81 (1966), 132-3. Coldstream, GGP, 344.
222. Op. Arch. IV, (1946), Gjerstad, pl. I.
223. Ibid, p. 15. On p. 17 the diagram indicates early 8th cent.
224. See pp. 74,84.
225. Op. Arch. IV (1946), 5.

226. SCE II, 9I no. 4, pl. XCIV:8
227. SCE II, p. 94
228. Higgins, Early Greek Jewellery in BSA 64 (1969), 143
229. Perati II, 29I, pls. IO3:C, II6:a
230. Ibid, 299-301
231. Ibid, 297-9
232. Ibid, 373-4
233. Ibid, 333
234. Ibid, 385
235. Desborough, Dark Ages, 304-5
236. Ibid, 313
237. Higgins, BSA, 64 (1969), 144, pl. 34:c-i. Hair-spirals are also recorded from Tiryns and Lefkandi. See, Desborough, Dark Ages, 313
238. SCE I, 210:I4. pl. CLIV:8. SCE IV:2, 147, fig. 26:I<sub>7</sub>2. Three more pieces of bronze come from Lapithos tomb p. 74 of the early CG period. See RDAC, 1965, 110:I70b, pl. XV:20. Two more with only two coils come from a tomb at Kythrea of CGI-II. See RDAC, 1965, pl VIII:11-12.
239. SCE IV:2, 219
240. Ibid, 221
241. Ibid, 147, fig. 26:11-12. SCE II, 388:22, Marion tomb 69
242. SCE IV:2, 163, fig. 34:37,38. SCE I, pl. CLV:I6, 209:2 of CGIIA.
243. SCE IV:2, ibid, No. 36
244. Granulation continues in Cyprus from the Late Bronze Age;

see SCE IV:2, 396-7, no 1

245. Hesp. 37 (1968), II3-4, nos. 77a-b

246. Delt. Chr. 2I (1966), pl. 95

247. Higgins, BSA, 64 (1969), I46, n. 25, pl. 35:d

248. Ibid

249. Cyprus, Its cities, tombs, and temples, pl. I

250. A.P. Di Cesnola, Salamina, pl. I:I7

251. Jewellery in the Cyprus Museum, pl. XXXII:8, p. 47:8; pl.

XXXVIII:4,5, p. 55. The Salaminian example may belong to the  
2nd, 3rd, cent. A.D.

252. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 263,343, fig. IO7

253. BSA, 64 (1969), I52-3

254. Snodgrass, ibid, 343

255. SCE I, 250:7, pl. CLV:24

256. SCE II, 29:I9, pl. CLVI:9

257. Fortetsa, pl. 2I:336

258. SCE II, 9I:3, pl. XX, tomb I5:3

259. SCE IV:2, I59 fig. 32:I4; I67, fig. 36:9,I0,I1,I2. Pieridou,  
Jewellery in the Cyprus Museum, pl. XIV:1,2. The latter may  
have an influence on Rhodes.

260. Kurtz-Boardman, Greek Burial Customs, 6I

261. Snodgrass, Dark Age, 343, fig. IO7, the upper one is only  
9.3 cm.

262. Andronikos, Totenkult, in Arch. Homeric, W 42, Abb. 1:a-b

263. E. Bielefeld, Schmuck, in Arch. Homeric, C 52, n. 468, 469,  
470, tafel C, VI:e



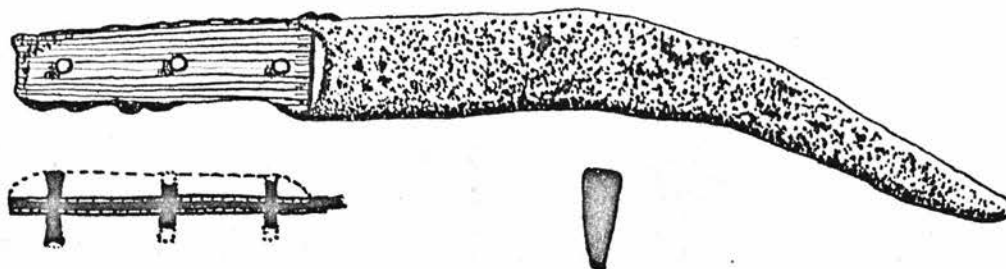


fig. 1

Iron knife with bronze rivets from Salamis, Cyprus.  
Length, 26 cm. Before 1050 B.C. (p. 250).



fig. 2

Wh.P.I pyxis with  
lug-handles from  
Lapithos.  
Height 12.7 cm.  
C.1050 B.C.  
(P. 137).

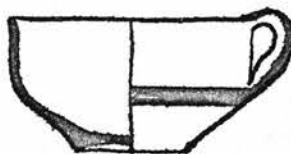


fig. 3

Wh.P.II cup with  
very low base ring  
from Lapithos.  
Diam. 16.8 cm.  
C.950 B.C.  
(p. 98).



fig. 4

Bich. III jug with  
conventional branch  
on the shoulder  
from Amathus, tomb  
7:207 (p. 231).

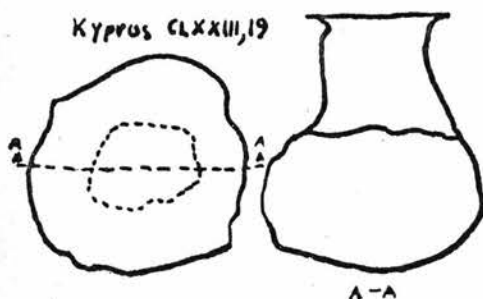


fig. 5

Pit-shaped tomb of CGI.  
Very rare. (p. 215).



fig. 6

Amathus tomb 24 with the rear of the dromos revetted thus foregrounding the built tombs of the Archaic period. This type of tomb is common throughout the CG period. It has a narrow shaft as dromos, and big slabs as door-jambs and lintel. (p. 217).

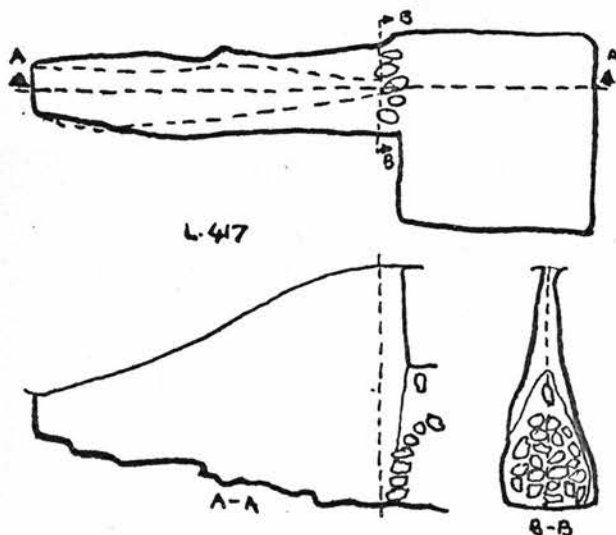


fig. 7

Mycenaean type of tomb with converging walls of the long dromos and roughly rectangular chamber. Found in CGI-II. (p. 216).

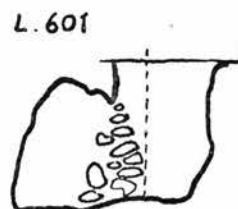
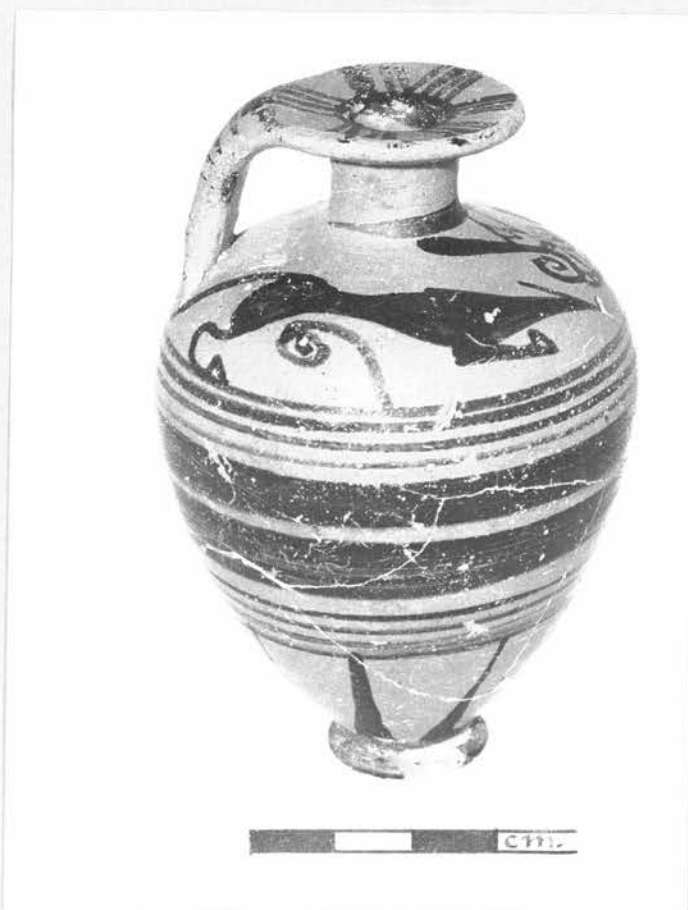


fig. 8

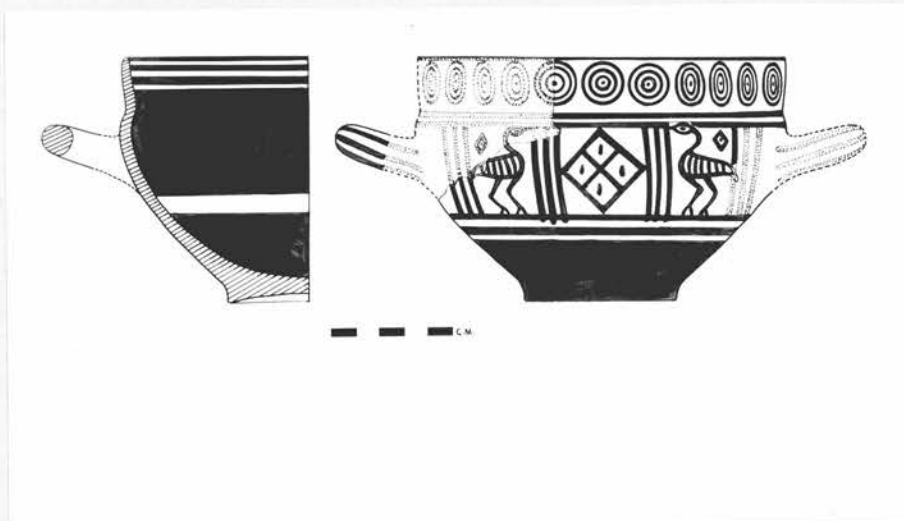
Tomb with vertically cut shaft and a small chamber. A rare type but known in the entire CG period. (p. 215).



a. MGII Attic krater from  
Salamis, Cyprus,  
connected with late  
type III pottery.  
H. 48 cm. (p. 4).  
C.775 B.C.



b. MPC aryballos found  
at Amathus along with  
pottery of type IV  
and a single transitional  
piece of type V.  
690-680 B.C. (p. 8).



a. LG Euboean skyphos discovered with type IV pottery at Paphos. C.750 B.C. (p. 12).



b. CGIIB amphora from Lysi, provided with a ridge below the rim. C.900 B.C. (p. 23).

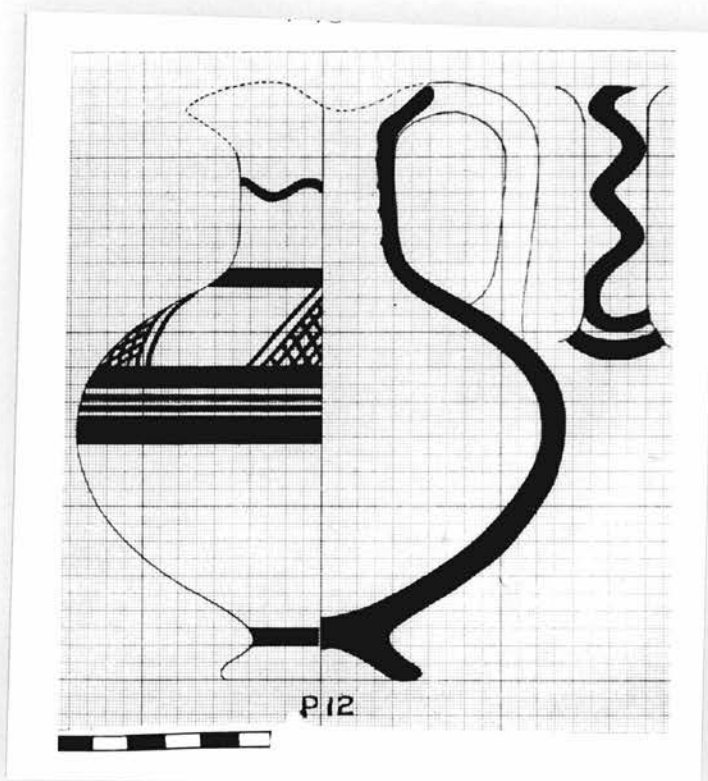




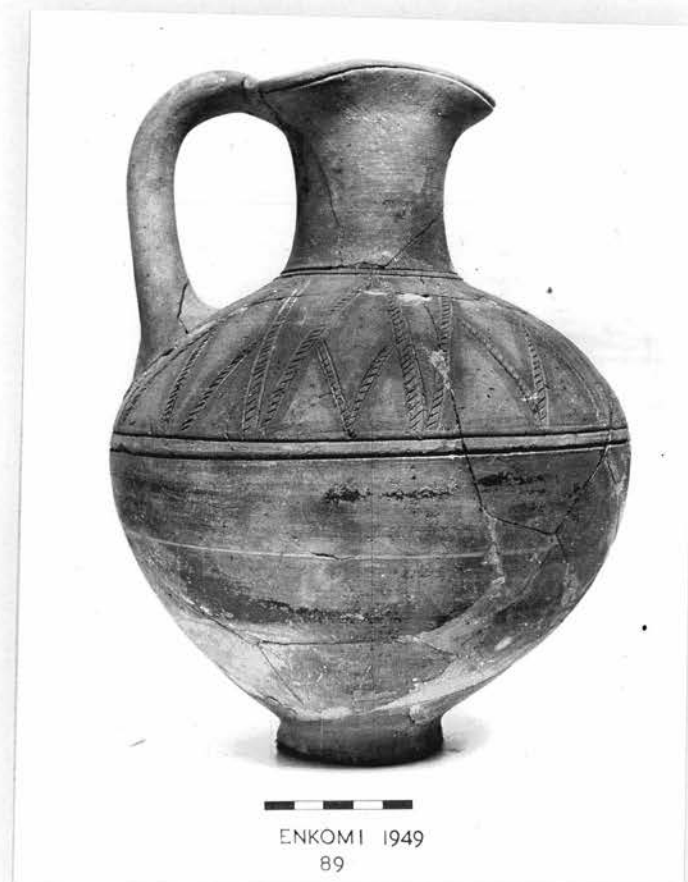
a. P.Wh.P. lip-handled  
amphoriskos from Lapithos.  
H. 15 cm. C.1075 B.C.  
(p. 30).



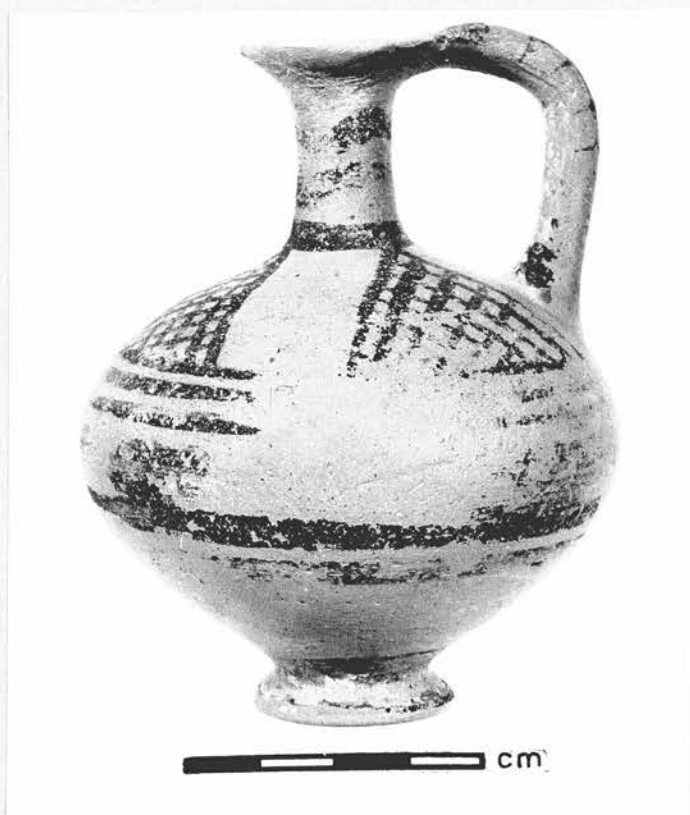
b. CGI hydria with bracket  
ornament from Vathyrkakas.  
C.1025 B.C. (p. 38).



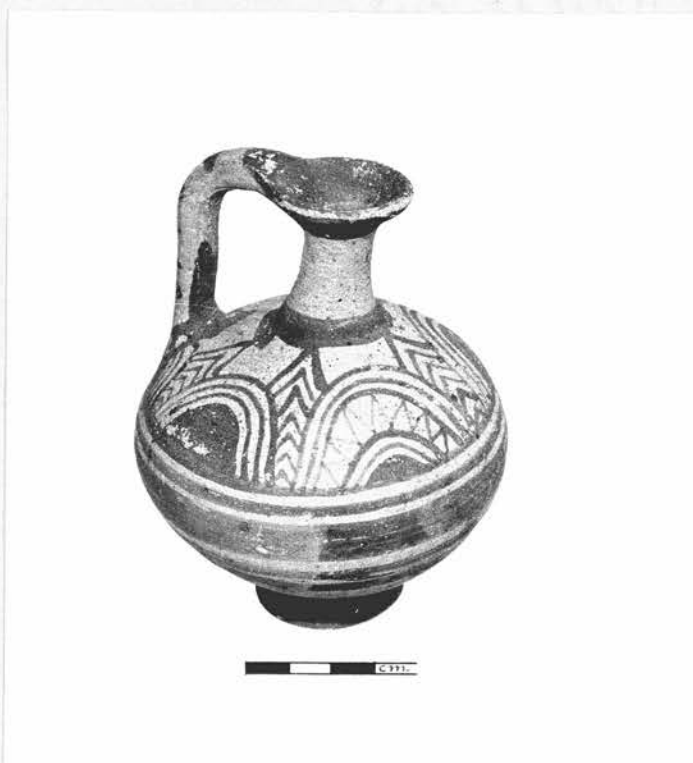
a. CGI Trefoil-lipped oinochoe  
from Pighades. 1000-950  
B.C. (p. 46).



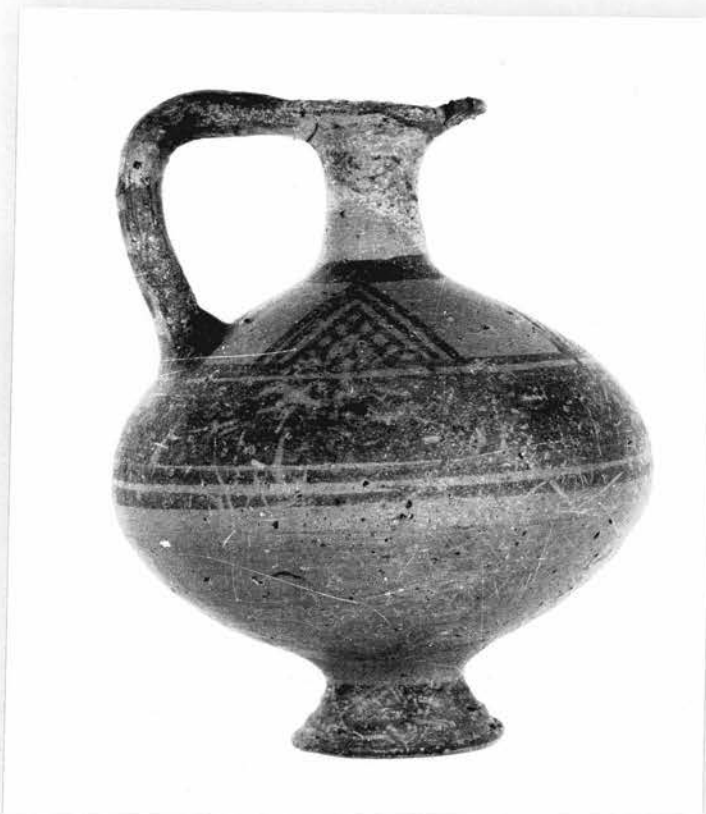
b. Trefoil-lipped oinochoe  
from Enkomi connected with  
Karpfi, Crete. C.1075 B.C.  
(p. 55).



a. P. Wh. P. lekythos from  
Lapithos, tomb 503.  
C.1075 B.C. (p. 58).



b. P. Wh. P. lekythos from  
Idalion, Ayios Georghios,  
tomb 2. C.1075 B.C.  
(p. 58).



a. Late P.Wh.P. lekythos from Lapithos. H. 10 cm.  
c.1075 B.C. or slightly later (p. 60).



b. Wh.P.I. skyphos from Lapithos. H. 9.5 cm.  
diam. 14.5 cm. 1050-1000 B.C. (p. 74).





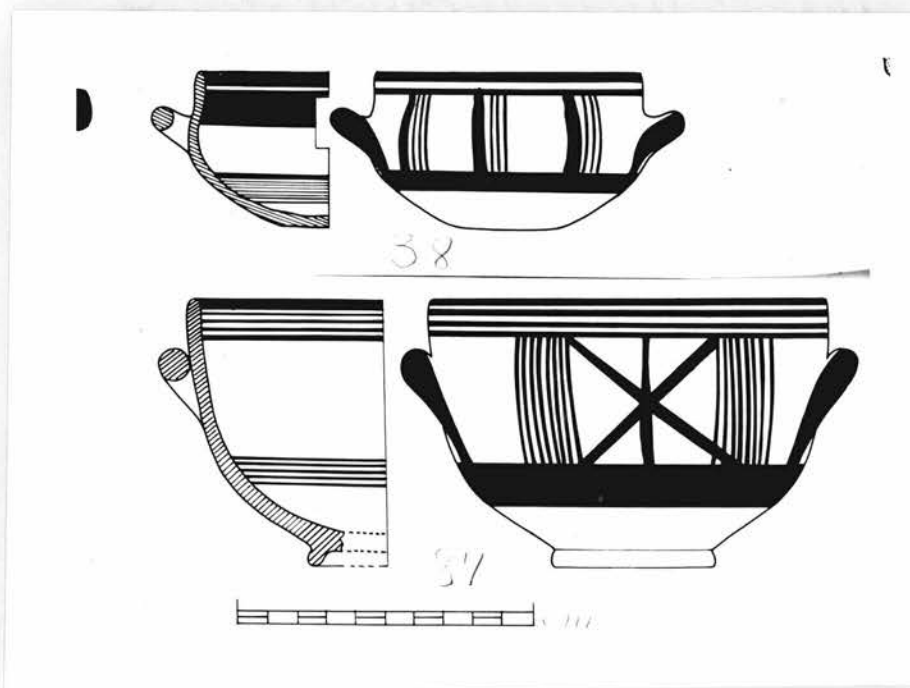
a. Wh.P.I. skyphos from Vathyrkakas, Karavas. C.975 B.C. (p. 75).



b. LG IIA Attic skyphos in Glasgow. The motif between the birds shows Cypriot influence. C.730 B.C. (p. 79).



a. Imitation of an Attic prototype from Salamis, Cyprus. C.675 B.C. (p. 79).



b. Upper skyphos (No. 38), imitation of an East Greek LG one of C.700 B.C. Lower skyphos (No. 87), very late Wh.P.III of C.750 B.C. Both were discovered at Salamis, Cyprus, tomb No. 31 (p. 81).



a. Imitation of a Rhodian kotyle from Ayia Irini, Cyprus. 700-675 B.C. (p. 82).



b. Bichrome IV skyphos from Ayios Theodoros, Famagusta. C.725 B.C. (p. 83).



a. Bichrome IV krater No. B1992 in the Museum of Nicosia. C.700 B.C. (p. 90).



b. Bichrome-Red I(IV) krater from Marion. C.700 B.C. (p. 92).





a. Bichrome-Red I(IV)  
krater from Kouklia.  
C.720 B.C. (p. 92).



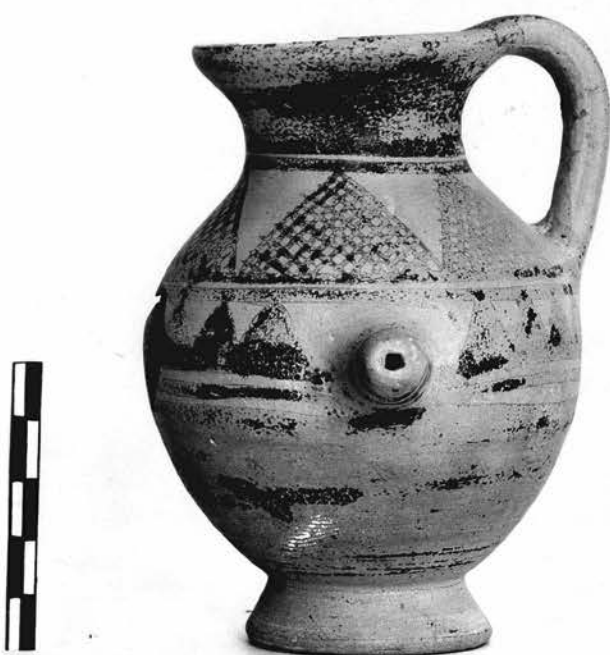
b. CGIA cup from Kythrea, Cyprus. H. 9.8 cm.,  
diam. 13.2 cm. (p. 97).



a. Kylix of P.Wh.P. from  
Kaloriziki, Cyprus,  
tomb.No. 40. C.1075  
B.C. (p. 105).



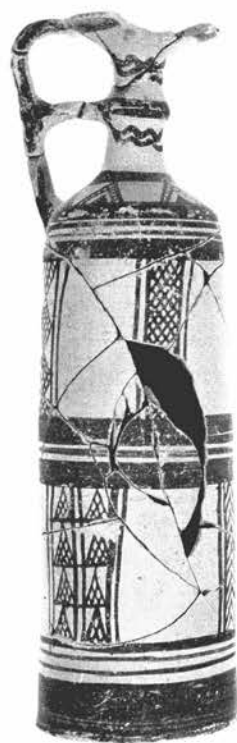
b. Bichrome II hydria  
from Kaloriziki, Cyprus.  
H. 14.5 cm. 950-900 B.C.  
(p. 177).



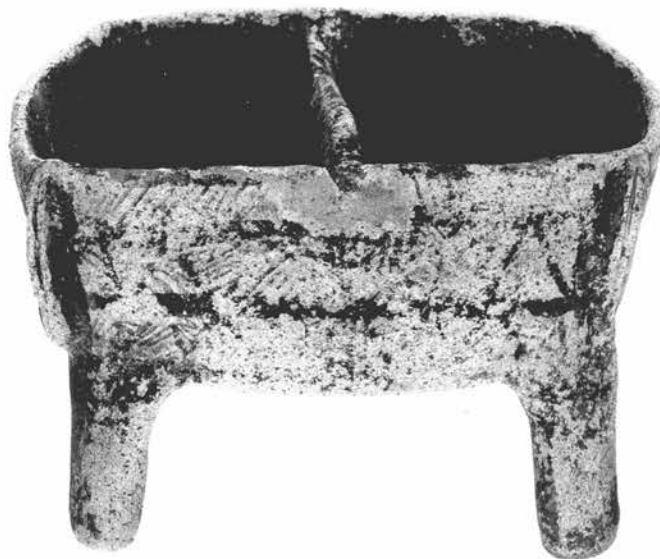
a. Late Protogeometric side-spouted jug from the Agora in Athens. C.925 B.C. (p. 122).



b. CGI side-spouted jug from Lapithos. C.1030 B.C. (p. 123).



a. Transitional to CGI  
bottle from Kaloriziki,  
Cyprus. C.1050 B.C.  
(p. 128).



b. P.Wh.P. rectangular pyxis from Paphos. C.1075 B.C.  
(p. 141).





a. Globular pyxis from Athens, Agora P.326, of late Protogeometric. H. 13 cm. C.925 B.C. (p. 138).



b. P.Wh.P. pyxis in the Cyprus Museum of CGIA. C.1050 B.C. (p. 138).



a. Rectangular Bichrome I Pyxis in the Pierides' collection. C.1050 B.C. (p. 139).



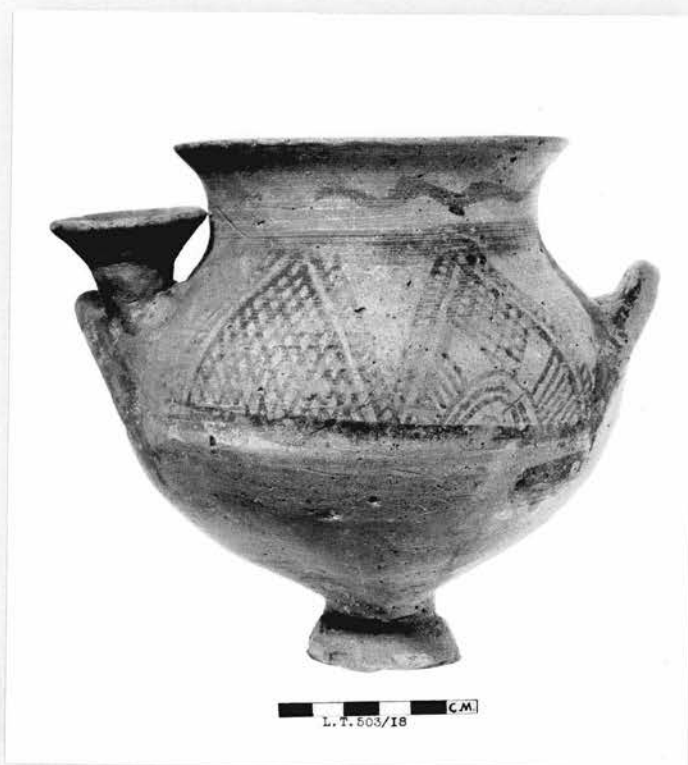
b. P. Wh. P. pyxis in the Michaelides collection. C.1075 B.C. (p. 141).



a. P.Wh.P. pyxis from Kouklia, Lakkos tou Skarnou.  
C.1075 B.C. (p. 143).



b. CGI pyxis in the Cyprus Museum, B.63. H. 35 cm.  
C.1050 B.C. (pp 143).



a. P. Wh. P. vase with excrescent cup from Lapithos.  
C.1075 B.C. (p. 146).



b. Bichrome II plate from Kythrea, Cyprus, showing  
decoration somehow similar to one seen on a sub-  
Protogeometric pilgrim flask from Rhodes.  
D. 23.5 cm. 950-900 B.C. (p. 152).

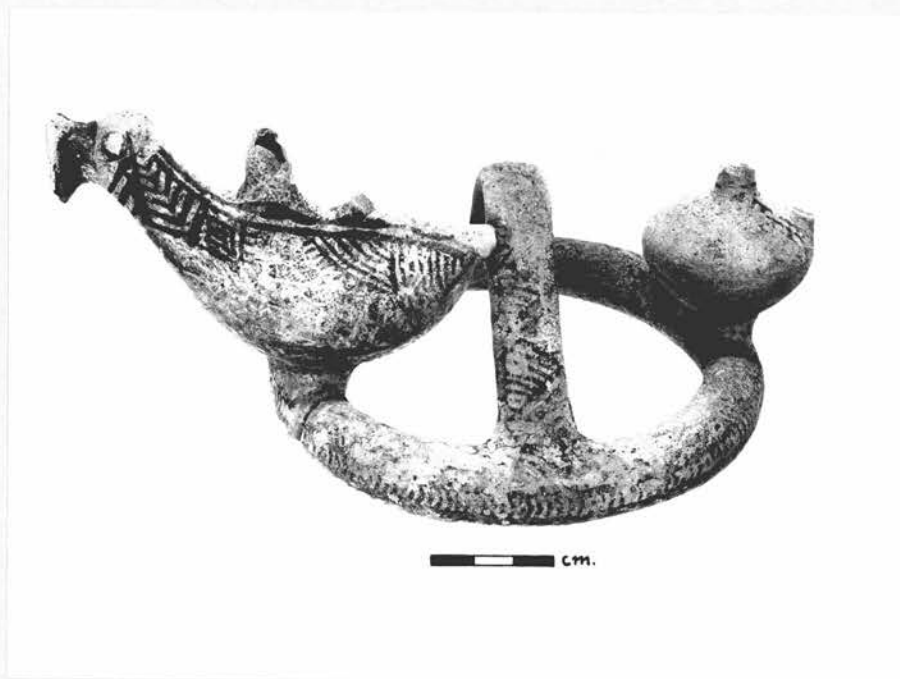




a. Wh.P.I. pilgrim flask  
from Lapithos.  
C.1050 B.C. (p. 153).



b. Wh.P.I. pilgrim flask  
from Lapithos. H. 14 cm.  
C.1050 B.C. (p. 153).



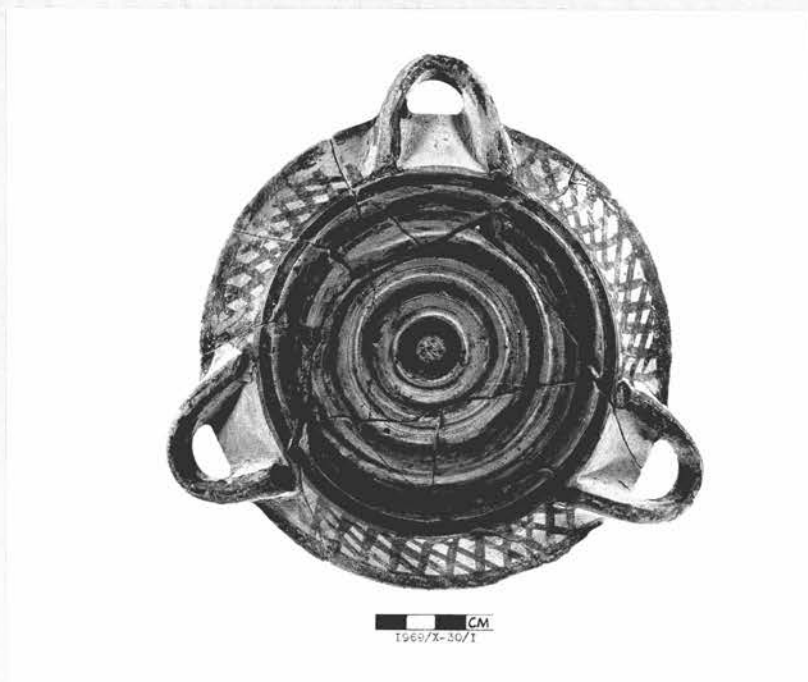
a. P. Wh. P. kernos from Cyprus. 1100-1075 B.C.  
(pp. 157, 191).



b. Wh. P. I. kernos from Lapithos. H. 15.2 cm.  
D. 26 cm. 1050-1000 B.C. (p. 157).



a. CGIII kernos in the Pierides' collection.  
C.775 B.C. (p. 157).



b. Wh.P.I. tray from Cyprus. 1050-1000 B.C.  
(p. 165). (Diam. 16 cm.).



a. Early Protogeometric high-footed tray from Athens.  
H. 7.3 cm. 1050-1025 B.C. (p. 164).



b. Interior decoration of pl. 22a (p. 164).





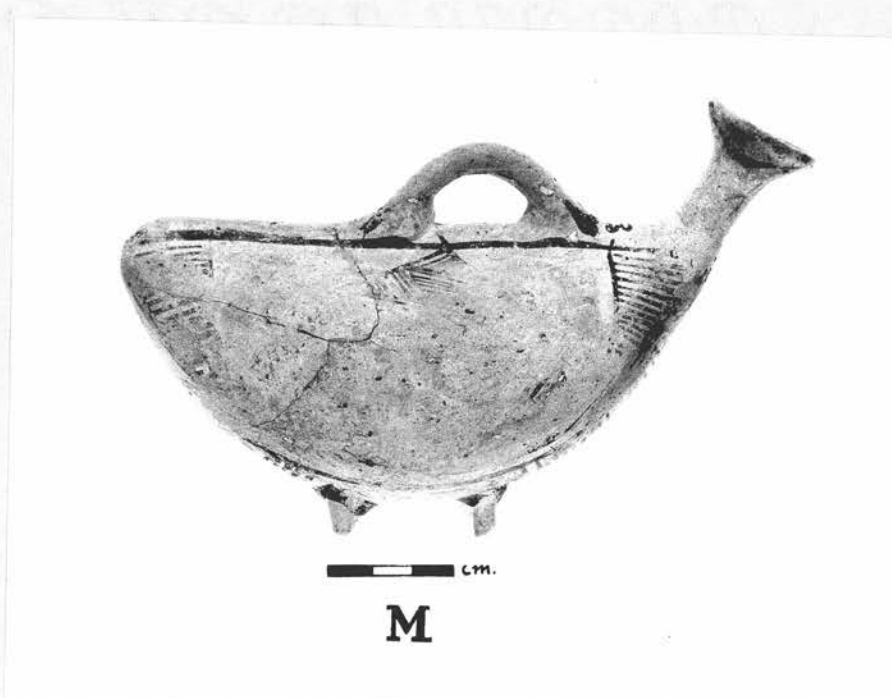
a. Wh.P.I. kalathos from Lapithos. Diam. 15 cm.  
1050-1000 B.C. (p. 171).



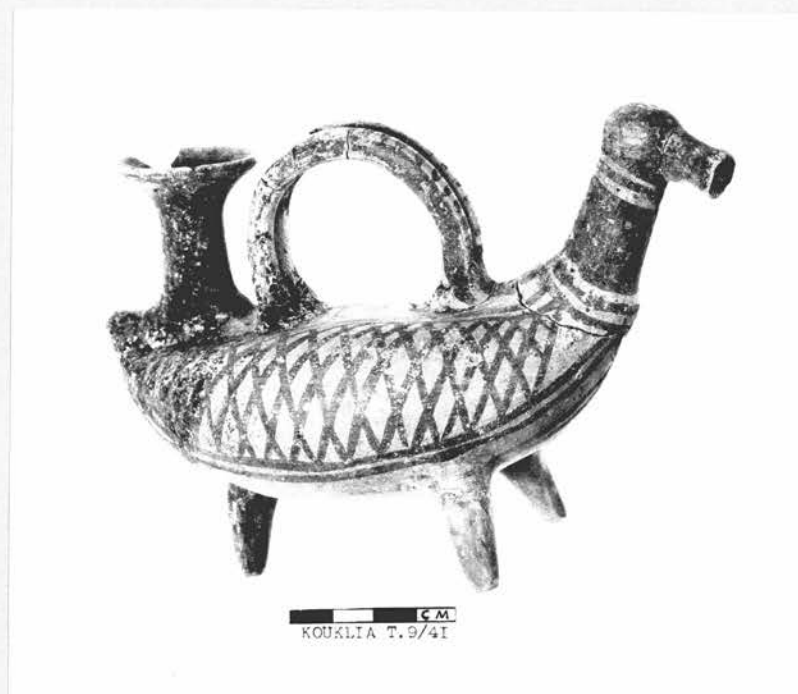
b. LCIIIA bird vase from Cyprus. H. 17 cm. C.1200  
B.C. (p. 183).



a. LCIIIA/B bird vase from Enkomi. C.1125 B.C.  
(pp. 184, 186).



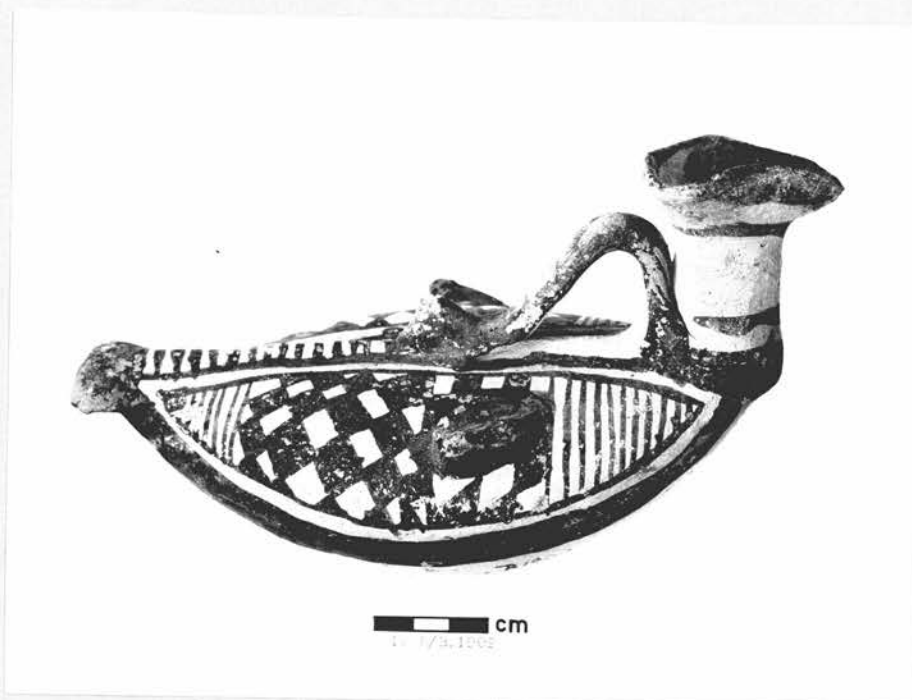
b. P.Wh.P. prochylos of C.1100 B.C. (pp. 186, 190).



a. LCIIIIB bird-rhyton from Kouklia. C.1075 B.C.  
(pp. 187, 192).



b. LCIIIIB Bichrome bird-rhyton from Kouklia.  
C.1075 B.C. (pp. 187-191).



a. CGIII prochus with pinched lip. C.850? B.C.  
(pp. 188, 194).

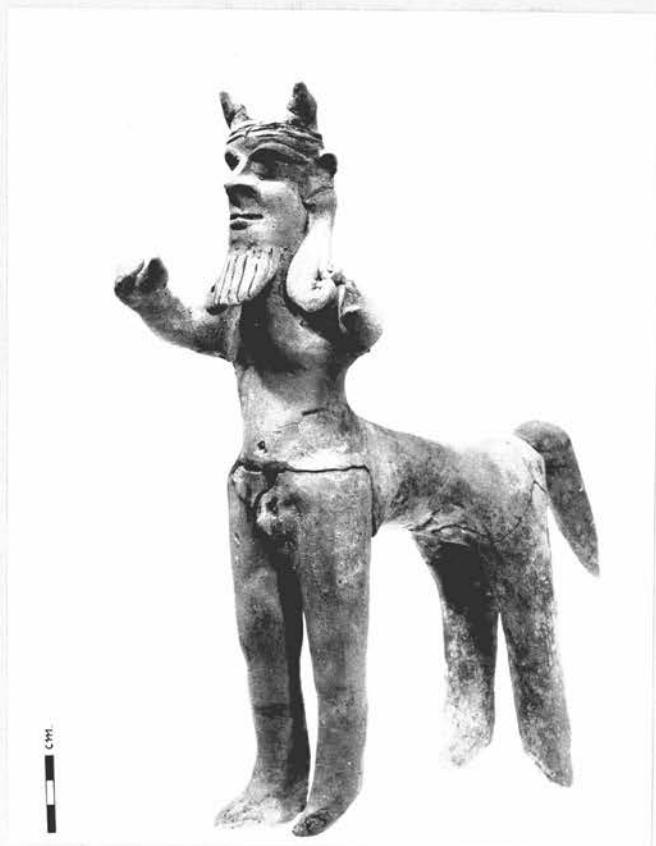


b. CAI prochus with pinched lip. C.740 B.C.  
(pp. 188, 194).





a. Centaur No. 2031 of period 2 from Ayia Irini, Cyprus. C.925 B.C. (p. 200).



b. Centaur No. 1122 of period 4 from Ayia Irini, Cyprus. C.720 B.C. (pp. 200, 204).



a. Bichrome figurine in the Pierides' collection. H. 21 cm. C.1050 B.C. (p. 205).



b. Bottle with human face from Salamis, Cyprus. 1075-1050 B.C. (pp. 177, 206).



a. Human figurine from  
Toumba tou Skourou,  
Morphou. CGI?  
C.1025 B.C. (p. 206).



b. Human figurine of unknown  
provenance from Cyprus.  
CA? c.700 B.C. (p. 207-8).



B.27 cm

a. CGII warrior figurine.  
C.925 B.C. (p. 209).



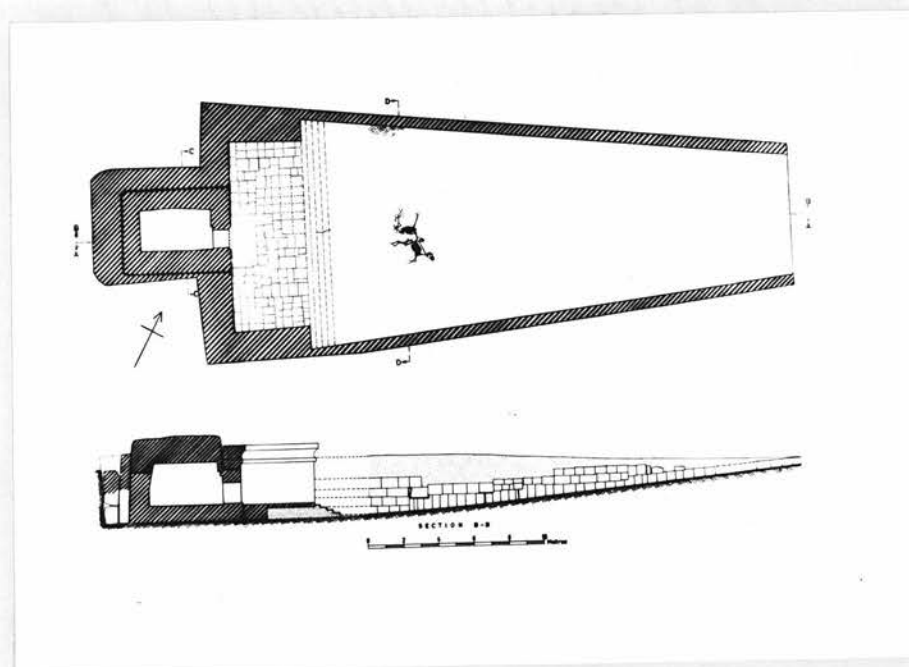
SAL. BOTHROS 2/35

b. Vase-shaped naiskos  
from Kition. C.1050 B.C.  
(p. 211).

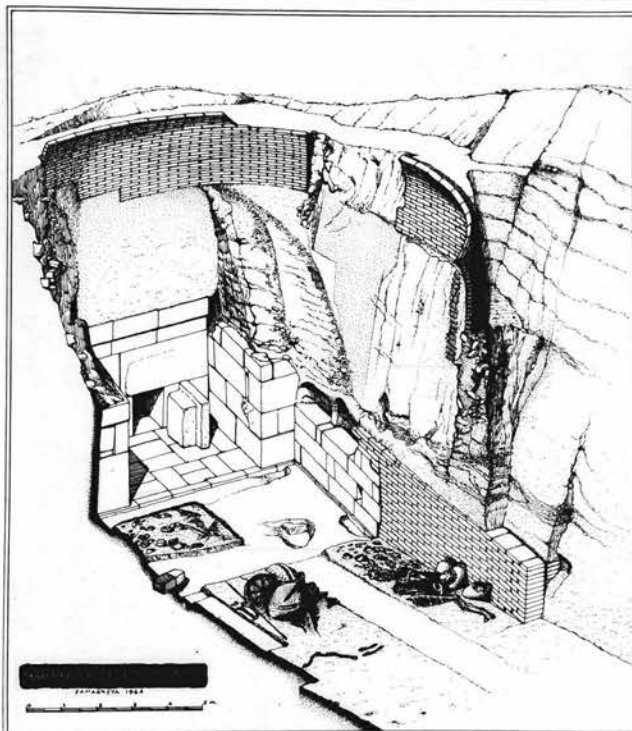




a. Naiskos from Cyprus of unknown provenance.  
Preserved height, 11 cm. C.800 B.C. (p. 212).



b. Royal tomb from Salamis, Cyprus with sacrificed  
horses in situ. C.700? (p. 217).



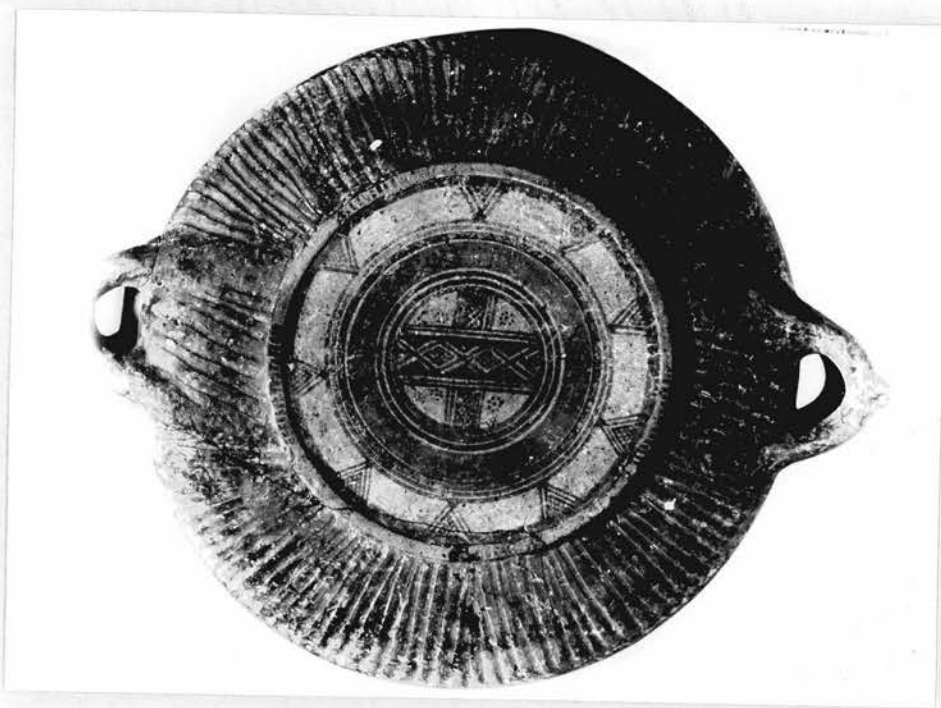
a. Royal tomb No. 3 from Salamis, Cyprus, with rich offerings in the undisturbed filling of the dromos and a superstructure of mud-bricks. CAL/II C.675 B.C. (p. 218).



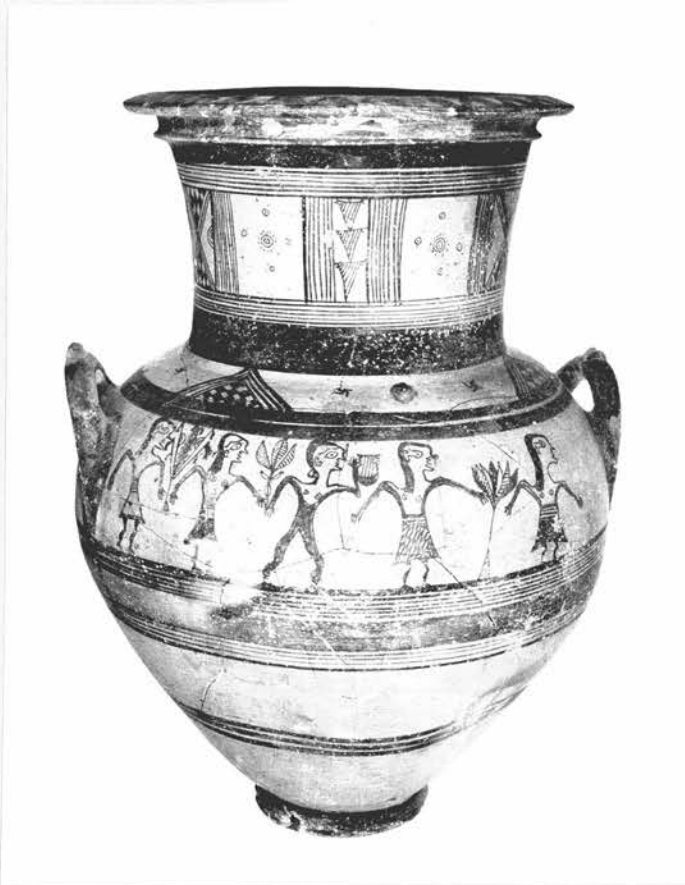
b. Late Wh.P.III amphora in the Petrakides collection with figured scene influenced from Attica. C.750 B.C. (p. 224).



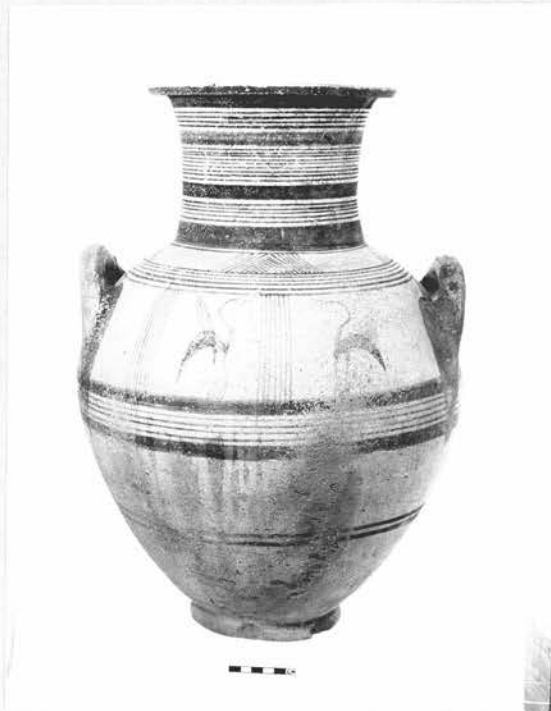
a. CAI kylix with floating sigmas inside the lip.  
725-700 B.C. (p. 227).



b. CGIIIB Black-slip-bichrome plate now in  
Glasgow. C.775 B.C. (p. 227).

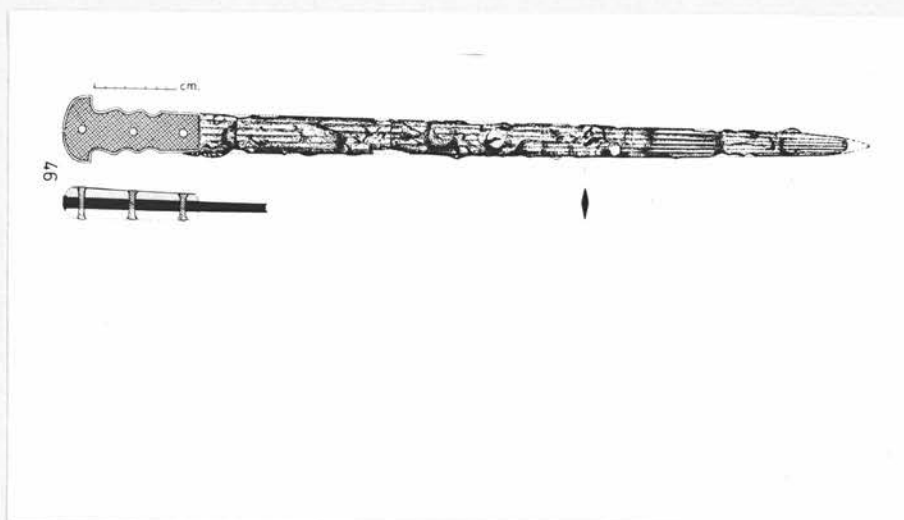


a. The Hubbard amphora of  
CGIIIB. H. 68 cm.  
C.775 B.C. (pp. 227-9).



b. CGIII amphora with birds  
having raised wings.  
825-800 B.C. (p. 230).

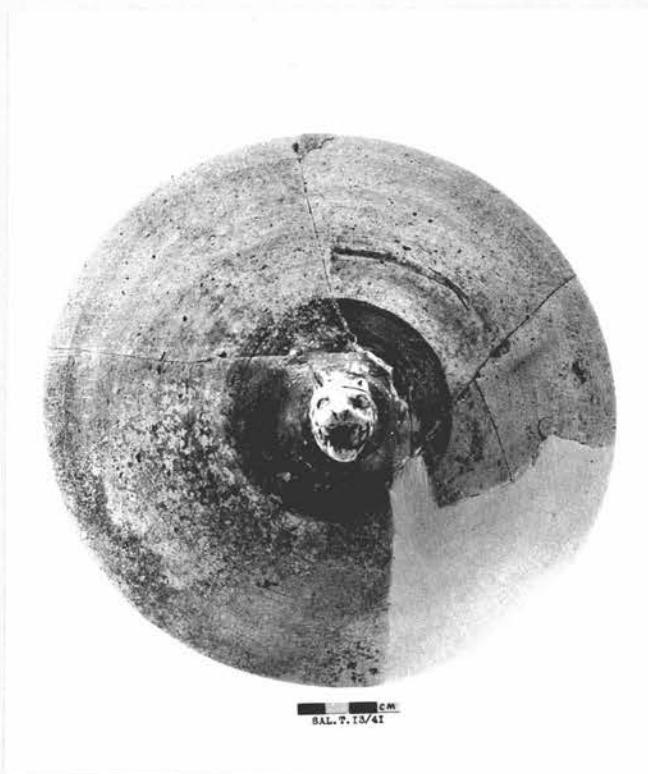




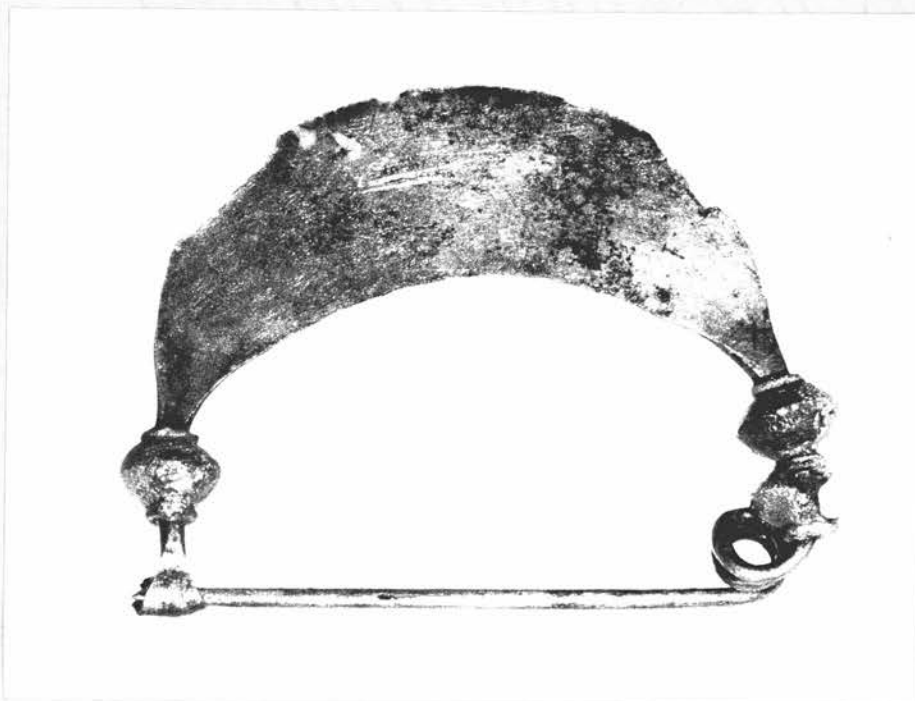
a. Iron sword from Kouklia. The pottery found with it dates it to C.720 B.C. (p. 237).



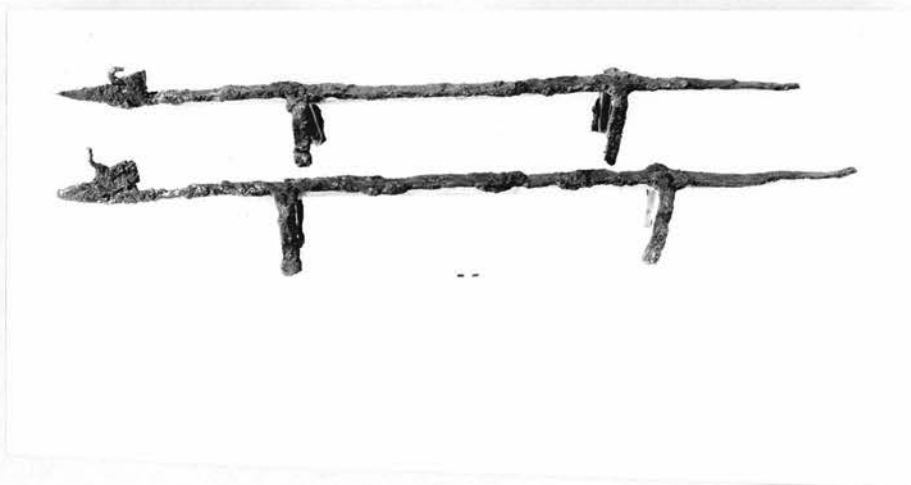
b. Shield of Herzsprung type from Kouklia. Estimated diam. 32 cm. Related finds date it C.720 B.C. (p. 242).



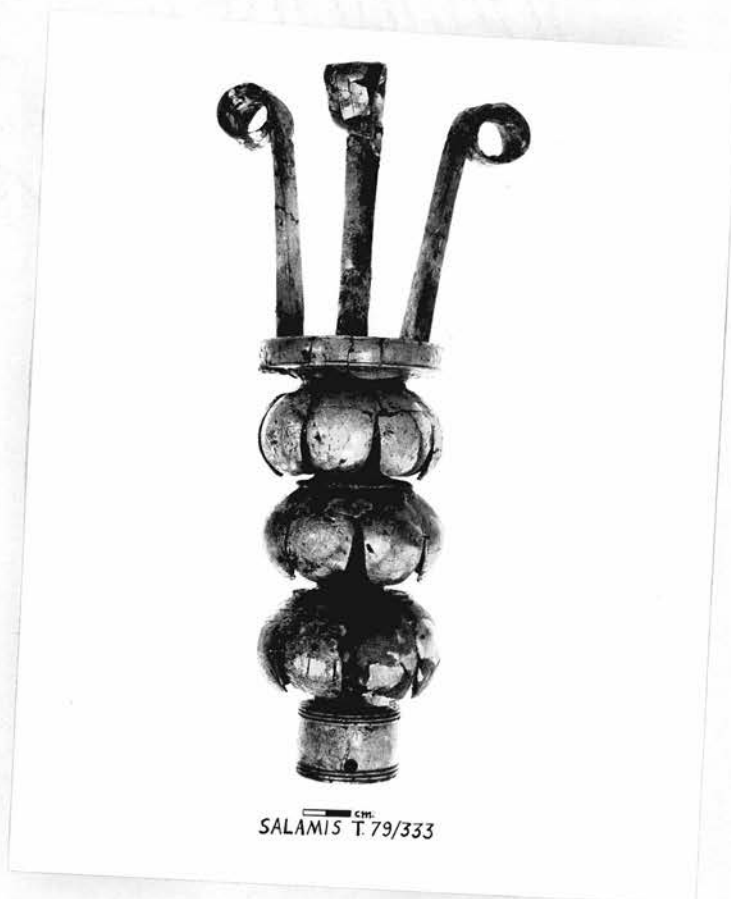
- a. Clay imitation of a shield with animal protome (lion) from Salamis, Cyprus. Diam. 21.5 cm. C.650 B.C. (p. 244).



- b. Boeotian type fibula from Cyprus. A fragment of a similar one from Kouklia is dated C.720 B.C. (p. 256).



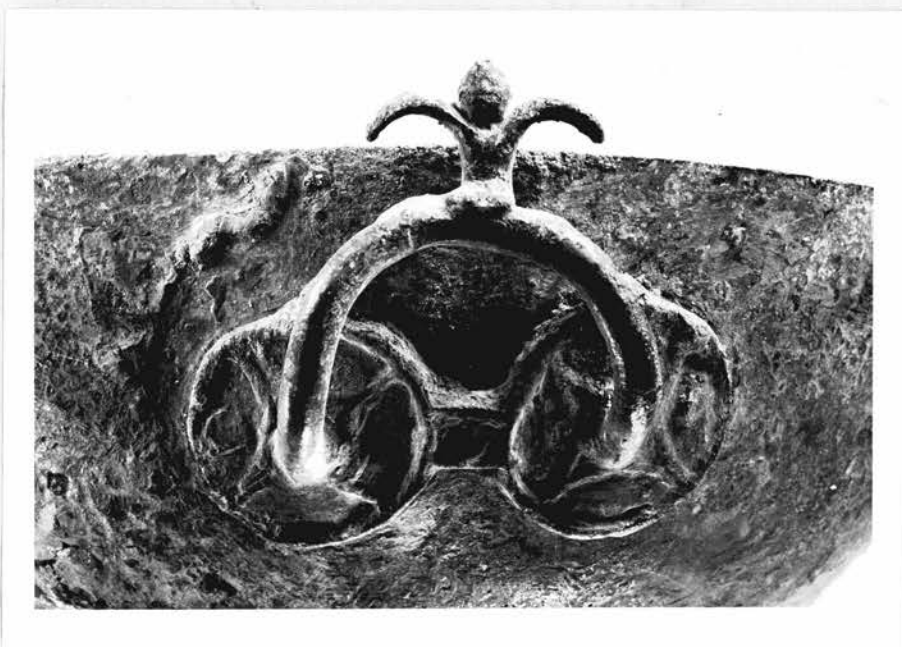
a. Iron firedogs from Salamis, Cyprus, tomb No. 79.  
C.720? B.C. (p. 257).



b. Candelabrum of ivory from Salamis, Cyprus, tomb No. 79.  
C.750? B.C. (p. 260).



a. Cauldron from Dikaïos' Royal tomb at Salamis, Cyprus. C.750 B.C. (p. 262).



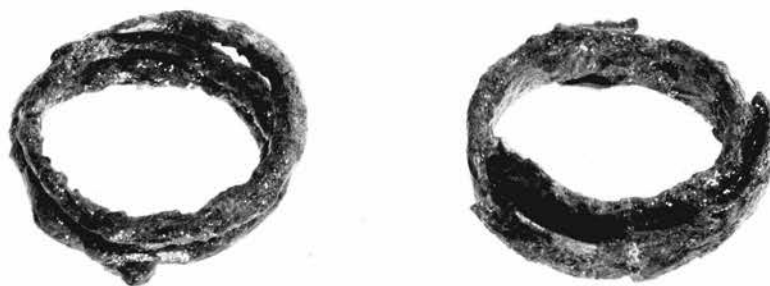
b. Lotus flower attachment from Cyprus. It possibly emerged in Cyprus in CGII (p. 266).





a. Cauldron attachment in the shape of a bull's head from Idalion. C.725 B.C. (p. 268).

cm.



b. Bronze spiral rings from Kythrea, Cyprus, of CGI/II. C.950 B.C. (p. 277).